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GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF BALKAN PROBLEMS

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IN THEIR RELATION TO THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR

BY

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WITH A COLOURED MAP OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE, AND SKETCH-MAPS

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PREFACE

This little book is intended, as its title suggests, to summarize those geographical facts which made the Balkan Peninsula the potential storm-centre of Europe, for long years before the summer sky was rent by the lightning-flash which destroyed for ever the Old Europe, and changed in a moment all the familiar fabric of our daily life. The facts herein set forth do not seem to have been previously collected and correlated in an English book, and some of them are not easy of access. At the same time, there can be little doubt that an acquaintance with them, and with their political and social bearings, is of great importance in forming a judgment on desirable frontier changes in the region. Primarily, indeed, the book was begun with the desire to beguile for one non-combatant the gloom of the Winter of Waiting by the carrying through of a self-imposed task which gave at least the illusion of usefulness. But it is hoped that this motive was not wholly illusory, and that the book may be found helpful to those who are striving to use their detachment from the actual field of battle to increase that knowledge

of others which is the beginning of political as of all wisdom. The author is further not without some hope that even when the day of peace dawns finally the volume will not entirely lose significance; for we cannot believe that the new Britain which will arise after the war can ever reacquire her former insular indifference to the politics and geography of the Near East. For this reason especially a deliberate attempt has been made to keep free from the bitterness of war, to set forth as dispassionately as may be the facts of geography which underlie the ceaseless racial strife of the sorely tried area here discussed, and thus to aid, in however insignificant a degree, in the building of that New Europe for which we wait and long.

EDINBURGH,
June, 1915.

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GENERAL MAP OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA AND ADJACENT REGIONS.

GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF BALKAN PROBLEMS

CHAPTER I

THE STRUCTURAL CHARACTERS OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA

The Mediterranean peninsulas—Elements of the earth's crust in the Mediterranean region—Young folded mountains, ancient land-masses, foundered areas—The folded mountains of the Balkan Peninsula—General structure of the peninsula—Its chief political consequences.

Into the Mediterranean Sea there project four great tongues of land; of these, three are European, while the fourth—Asia Minor—owing to a mode of land division which present-day geography has inherited from an earlier period, is regarded as forming part of another continent. All four, however, possess certain features in common, and all are closely bound up with the history of the Mediterranean Sea. That sea is at once very young and very old. It is old in that the existing depression is a remnant of a mightier ocean, which can be traced back into early geological time; but it is young in that some of the separate basins which constitute it perhaps originated after man had appeared on the earth.

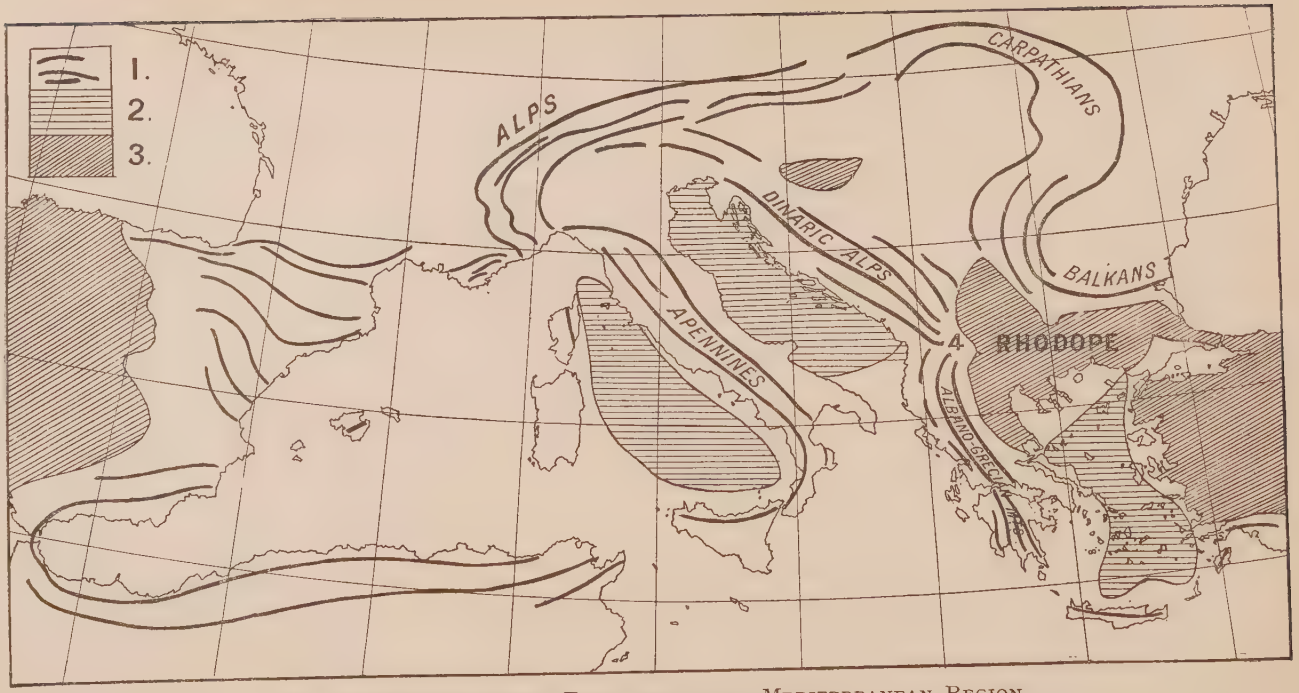

FIG. 1.—THE STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION.

1, Young folded mountains, some of whose constituent chains are named. 2, Depressed areas within the sea, marking the site of foundered earth-blocks. 3, Ancient land-masses round which folding has taken place. The figure 4 marks the Albanian Gap. (*Cf.* Fig. 2.)

It is beyond our scope here to trace through the ages the history of that part of the earth's surface over which the blue waters of the inland sea now flow, but at the same time it is difficult to understand existing relations—the relations which have made the political development of the Balkan Peninsula so troubled and so complex—without some reference to the geological past of the whole area.

Fig. 1 is a sketch-map showing certain structural features of the Mediterranean region. It will be noted that all four of its peninsulas are traversed, to a greater or less extent, by branches of those young mountain-chains which, though loftiest and most familiar in the case of the Alps, yet all but engirdle the Inland Sea. In addition to the mountain-chains, the map shows two other features of the Mediterranean area. Here are depressions—depressions over which roll now the waters of the Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, and Ægean Seas—which mark the site of foundered blocks of the earth's crust. Here also are massive resistant areas which, in Central Spain, in the centre of the Balkan Peninsula, in Asia Minor, have stood out both against the mountain-making forces which raised the Alps and their satellites, and against the land-destroying agents which caused old continents to founder beneath the ocean. Such old, resistant, continental masses always tend to repel human settlement to their margins; have tended, also, in

human history to conserve powerful stocks of men, who time and again, after having been driven to the barren uplands, have there found strength, in the course of time, to surge downwards again to the marginal plains, and drive out the intruders who were once their conquerers.

As contrasted with Italy, the Iberian and the Balkan Peninsulas are specially remarkable for their central continental masses, margined by mountain and valley. Long centuries ago the Spaniard drove out the Arab; within our own day the Slav has been gathering strength to descend from the uplands and sweep the Turk from the plains. That it has taken him so long to do this is, as we shall see, largely a matter of the geographical characters of the land.

Old resistant land-masses, young folded mountain-chains, sea-covered basins where old lands have sunk—these are the three essential elements of the crust in and near the Mediterranean peninsulas. Let us note, in a few words, the relations of the three to one another.

The old land-masses, which consist almost exclusively of ancient types of rocks, are believed to have stood above the surface of the sea for a prolonged period. In the seas around them land waste was laid down, and here also in places massive limestones were built up by marine animals. At the end of long ages, for reasons about which we can only speculate, earth movements took

place, and the great masses of sediment were folded and puckered, raised above sea-level, fractured, over-thrust, contorted, modified in a thousand ways, and thus mountain-chains arose.

If we liken the mountains to earth-waves, then we have to think of the old land blocks as forming breakwaters, against which the waves broke. The forces which crumpled the soft sedimentary rocks like paper, seem to have had little direct effect upon the old land blocks, for the folds turn round them as the incoming tide rounds projecting rocks and dashes up the intervening inlets. But if these mighty forces continue to act, the power of resistance of the blocks is sooner or later overcome. They cannot fold—for that they are too hard—but they seem to snap as ice or glass might snap. Great segments sink beneath the surface of the sea; others are thrust upward, raised above the general surface.

Now let us apply this general description to the areas shown in Fig. 1. Only some of the old land blocks are indicated, but we may judge of their breakwater effect by the sweeping curves of the mountain-chains. Look first at the Alps proper. They swing in a huge semicircle round the Plain of Lombardy, and, far to the east, divide, as though parted by that block of which a fragment is exposed in the hills of Slavonia. The northern arm swings round as the Carpathians, is thrown back by the block of Russia (not shown), and forced to

curve westward again as the Transylvanian Alps. These in their turn are blocked by the central mass of the Balkan Peninsula, which flings the folds eastwards, and they run on as the Balkan Range, till we lose them beneath the waters of the Black Sea.

Turn now to the southern branch of the Eastern Alps. It is deflected southward by the Slavonian mass, and runs in a south-easterly direction till it also abuts upon the central Balkan mass. Here the folds, if we may put the matter so, rebound much as a current of water swirls round in an eddy, and thus produce a region of great structural complexity, and, as we shall see, one also of great geographical importance. Thereafter the folds run for a time almost due south till they finally take an eastward direction once more, and are lost to us as they cross the Ægean and enter Asia Minor.

The result, as we see, is that the Rhodope mass in the centre of the peninsula is all but surrounded by folded chains. Necessarily, therefore, it is a region which has been subjected to great disturbance—fault lines, outbursts of volcanic rock, hot springs, are, as we shall see later, some of the signs of this disturbance. In the meantime, however, it is more important to notice, what the map only suggests—that, apparently as a result of the pressure of the mountain-building forces, the southern part of the old continental mass has sunk beneath the sea. When this sea—the Ægean—was formed, the European part of the land block was

broken off from the Asiatic; Europe was here separated from Asia, and the development of Greece was rendered possible.

The characters of the other peninsulas we shall not stay to note, but may point out that, just as the Ægean has been formed in a region of extensive —and encircling—folding, so also have the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Seas originated in similar regions. It was the sinking of the Adriatic which gave a large part of the Balkan region its peninsular form, and the narrowness of that sea, especially at one critical area, has had much bearing upon the political history of the region.

Let us note one other point: the curve of the Carpathians bounds eastward the plain of Hungary; the curve of the Transylvanian Alps, continued into the Balkans, bounds to the westward the lower plain of the Danube (*cf.* Figs. 1 and 2 and the coloured map). The two plains are linked by that river, which is, however, constricted where it crosses the mountain belt at the narrow passage of the Iron Gates. Now, Hungarian plain and Roumanian basin alike were—geologically but yesterday—covered by a vast sea, a sea of which the present Black Sea is in part a remnant The Danube, at least in its lower portion, we may regard as the last relic of that former sea, for it arose as the sea drained away. The river has, both for Roumania and Bulgaria, the advantage of affording an admirable waterway, so that Bulgaria has a water-

front along her northern margin as well as on the east.

Serbia, whose northern boundary lies westward of the Iron Gates, looks, on the other hand, northward over the dried sea-basin of Hungary; her products can escape only by land routes, or, by permission of other Powers, by the Danube. Over the dried and fertile sea-basin of Hungary the northern Powers look jealously towards her land-locked territories, which block for them the road to the south. The fact that the old sea-basin has dried out more thoroughly to the north of Serbia than to the north and east of Bulgaria makes the one Power more "continental," the other more "peninsular," and is full of political significance. Further, the tolls exacted to cover the cost of the improvements at the Iron Gates makes the Danube a less convenient waterway for Serbia than for Bulgaria.

Once again, in the mighty wrinkle of the Central Alps, upheaved high to heaven, the opening of the folds has exposed a central core of ancient and hardened rocks—the limestones are mostly marginal. In the Eastern Alps, but much more in the Dinaric Alps, as indeed in the folded mountains of the Balkan Peninsula generally, limestones predominate. Sometimes impure, and then leaving behind in their decay a not infertile earth, at other places, especially on the shores of the Northern Adriatic, they are almost pure. Washed by the

rain, they dissolve away all but completely, and the gaunt, naked rocks of the karst country, almost waterless, almost treeless, cut off the more fertile inner lands from that sea, and make the Dinaric Alps, despite their relatively moderate elevation and their absence of permanent ice and snow, a more serious obstacle to transverse traffic than the lofty Central Alps.

The result is to force most of the traffic of the peninsula into a narrow passage between the Western Coastal Mountains and the central earth block—a passage which opens southwards to the Ægean, and northwards to the lands of Central Europe, up and down which has swept through history the tide of conquest; while the patient Slav peasant, trampled time and again beneath the feet of the contending parties, finds there, and there chiefly, the fertile patches of land for which his soul hungers. In this narrow belt, bounded westwards by the cruel karst hills, eastwards by the wooded, pasture-bearing central uplands, open widely at both ends, all but blocked at the sides—within this belt is concentrated most of the drama and most of the tragedy of the peninsula. Whether we think of the wistful Serb, with memories of past glories; the Bulgar, looking down from his upland boundary to his compatriots in the storm-swept plains below; the Greek, with his trader's instinct pushing inland from the seaports of the coast; the Albanian, sweeping down from his mountain in brigand's raid,

or creeping onward in peaceful agricultural penetration; or, again, of Teuton and Hungarian in the north; of Italian watching the gaps of the Coastal Mountains; of the cynical Turk, still finding peasants to work for him in the midst of the pervading tumult—with whatever party our interests and our sympathies lie, we have to remember that here in this alleyway, which we, quite inappropriately, still call Macedonia, in this gap between western mountain and central land mass, lies the key to the history of the whole peninsula.

To this belt we shall have to devote much space in the following pages, but it may be well to note here that its northern entrance is Belgrade, where the Danube, after its general north-to-south course through Hungary, joins the Save and adopts that river's west-to-east course. Its southern gateway is Salonika, on the Ægean, which for a considerable number of years has been linked to Belgrade by rail through Uskub and Nish. But it would be a mistake to give the impression that between these two great gates of the peninsula there runs a straight road. Rather should we compare the belt between Central Upland and Coastal Mountains to what the mountaineer calls a *couloir*—a passage between lofty rocks—but one which is itself encumbered and complex, so that more than one possible route exists through it. It is well to realize from the start that the railway between Salonika and Belgrade does not owe its course wholly to the nature

of the surface; political considerations had also some influence—as nearly always in the peninsula.

Again, just as Macedonia, in the broad sense, marks the gap between the western border of the Rhodope and the Coastal Mountains, and affords a passage-way through the peninsula, so also is there a similar gap between the north-eastern border of the Rhodope and the Balkans. From Nish in the western belt a road crosses the junction between the Rhodope and the Balkans near Sofia, and descends to a broad valley beyond, a valley which leads ultimately to Constantinople. If the upper end of this intermediate belt has been for long Bulgarian, the lower end is still a storm centre; and even if the Turk be ousted from Europe, difficult readjustments will require to be made in this region.

Thus we should begin our detailed study of the Balkan Peninsula with a realization of the broad outlines of its structure (Fig. 2). A complex mass of upland, roughly triangular in shape, composed of hard, resistant rocks, rests with its apex on the Danube at Belgrade, its base stretching from the Black Sea to the Ægean. Its southern end, once continuous with the central mass of Asia Minor, lies sunk beneath the Ægean, which is fringed with the inlets and peninsulas which mark its shattered margin. The two sides of the triangle are bordered by young folded mountains, in which limestones largely predominate. But, necessarily, there is no

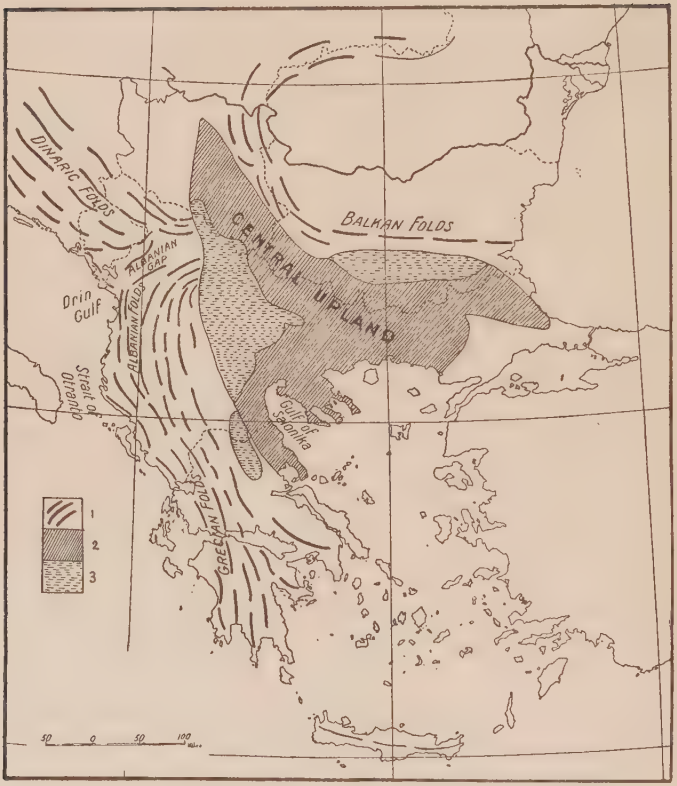

FIG. 2.—STRUCTURAL MAP OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA.

1, Folded mountain chains. 2, The central earth block, or Rhodope Upland. 3, Transition areas. Note the change in direction alike of coast-line and of the mountain-folds in the region of the Drin Gulf, and the position of the Albanian Gap. The map should be compared with Fig. 3 on p. 22. (In part after Cvijić.)

sudden transition between central mass and folded margin. Balkans and western mountains alike are separated from the Central Upland by areas whose special feature is the presence of fertile basins, which alternate with low ridges, offering no great obstacle to through transit, and with mountain-tracts. Within these two belts lie the best lands of the peninsula, but they themselves are the natural highways of traffic from north to south and from south to north, from north-west to south-east, from Asia to Europe, from the Ægean to the European plains.

It has been remarked by an acute observer that in the Balkan Peninsula the villages, contrary to the usual rule, tend to avoid the main road. Along that main road one may find a few large towns, but the smaller settlements, too well aware that the highway's main function throughout historical time has been to allow of the passage of armies, seek safety in the byways. But it has been the curse of the Balkan States that they could not, like small groups of individuals, thus avoid the main lines of communication. To fly to the hills to starve there; to remain along the main route and be crushed by trampling feet: it is scarcely too much to say that these have been the main alternatives before the nations of that troubled land.

We have said that the central mass of upland is roughly triangular in shape. In a quite general

fashion we may say that the town of Belgrade is placed near the apex of the triangle, while Salonika and Constantinople occupy approximately the ends of the base line (*cf.* Figs. 2 and 3), and most of the more important towns of the peninsula are strung along the sides of the triangle, which are themselves the main lines of communication. To grasp these facts is to realize some of the essential difficulties which have retarded the political development of the peninsula.

It results necessarily from what has been said that, not only is there no natural centre within the peninsula about which, as nucleus, a great state might form, but that rivalries are almost certain to develop between small states. The fact that the peninsula is so easy of access from without—a point to which we shall return in a moment—means that weak peoples within will surge upwards from the plains on the main routes to mountains and uplands for safety. The danger past, they tend to descend, and are then confronted with the problem of how to divide among themselves the fertile plains which fringe the temporarily deserted highway. As fresh incursions from without are always liable to occur before internal adjustment has become possible, the problem is not one easily settled.

We have already seen that incursion from the north is easy, because, beyond the Save and the Danube, the peninsula lies open to the wide Hungarian plain; but it may be well to emphasize the

contrast here with the Italian and Iberian Peninsulas. Both of these are separated from continental Europe by mountain-chains, not absolutely continuous from sea to sea, not, as history has shown, giving perfect and easily drawn frontier lines, but still of great value as constituting in each case a northern belt of relatively scantily-peopled land, permitting of the development of more or less demarcated nationalities respectively within and without the peninsular areas. In contrast with the Balkan region, it is worth note, the Iberian Peninsula is further remarkable in that it narrows where it is attached to the Continent—a fact which has helped to promote a distinction between intra-peninsular and extra-peninsular nationalities. On the other hand, the Balkan Peninsula is widest where it joins the Continent, no notable barrier to human progress separates the one region from the other, and, in association with this, many of the peoples of the peninsula have representatives, sometimes numerous representatives, beyond its largely artificial boundary lines. In other words, their interests are never wholly within the peninsula—are sometimes largely outside it.

What are its boundary lines ? As usually defined, the Balkan Peninsula is the land area to the south of a line drawn along the line of the Lower Danube, then of the Save and of its insignificant tributary, the Kulpa, and from the headwaters of this stream to the shore near Fiume. How artificial this

" geographical " frontier is may be realized from the fact that only along part of its course does it correspond to political boundaries, and from the other fact that few maps of the region go so far to the north-west. In reality, while the southern part of the Balkan region is a true peninsula, the northern quadrilateral, separated from Asia Minor only by the narrow submerged river valleys which we call the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles respectively, is really continental, in climate as well as in many of its characters. Europe stops, not at Constantinople, but in the steppe region behind it, for the city itself has but little relation to the northern part of the peninsula on which it stands.

If we bear in mind that the factors we have stressed—the absence of a natural centre, of isolation from surrounding regions, the existence of broad, diverging highways leading through the heart of the land—have been in action for long centuries, then the welter of races and of creeds within the peninsula, the jealousies and quarrels, the short-lived triumphs of one race or another, will be readily understood. Here within a total area of some 191,000 square miles—that is, considerably less than Spain—no less than six native races dwell, in addition to representatives of not a few others. These six races have among them three creeds and an excommunicated Church, and that in a country where the absence of a strong state gives the creed a political force which is

often greater than race. But these facts, so fraught with historical significance, are themselves largely explicable by the structure of the country. It is to that structure, therefore, that we must devote careful attention if we wish to understand the political conditions.

NOTE.

Forms of Place-Names.

In many parts of the Balkan Peninsula the towns and other geographical features have two names, Turkish and Slav respectively, while in some cases a third form, the Albanian, is added to these two. In this book an attempt has been made in each individual case to use the name rendered most familiar by recent publications, so that, for example, in Macedonia Turkish names have been generally employed, because the long Turkish occupation has made them most familiar. Thus, Uskub is used instead of the Slav equivalent of Skoplie, Monastir instead of Bitolia. Necessarily, however, consistency in such a matter is difficult.

In the parts of the region which have been long under Slav rule or influence, the Slav forms are naturally employed. Since the Slavs themselves use for the most part the Cyrillic alphabet, the question of transliteration at once arises. But in the north-west of the Peninsula, notably in Croatia, the Latin alphabet is used either exclusively, or, as in parts of Serbia, in conjunction with the Cyrillic. There is thus what may be described as a recognized mode of conversion of the two alphabets. But this involves the use in the Latin alphabet of certain special characters, indicated below, whose pronunciation is not directly apparent to the English reader, nor, indeed, to the western European generally. There has in consequence been lately an increasing tendency, observable alike in English, French, and German publications, to use, in preference to this, modes of spelling which suggest, in the respective languages, the actual pronunciation. With some exceptions, notably in the case of place-names which have already become familiar to the general public in the Croatian

forms, such "phonetic" spellings have been generally adopted here. Thus it would seem foolish pedantry to adopt the form Niš in place of Nish, and as the pronunciation of the unfamiliar name Crna must necessarily be obscure except to the few, in introducing the word it seems desirable to present it in the comprehensible form of Tzerna. On the other hand, to spell Cetinje as Tzetinye would probably be to make the town unrecognizable. The following table indicates the relation of the two modes of spelling, the characters given first being the Croatian ones:

c	is pronounced	*tz*—*e.g.*, Marica—spelt here Maritza.
ć	,, ,,	*ch*—*e.g.*, Metković—spelt here Metkovich.
č	,, ,,	*tch*—*e.g.*, Kačanik—spelt here Katchanik.
j	,, ,,	*y*—*e.g.*, Janina—spelt here Yanina (before terminal *e*, *y* becomes *i*—*e.g.*, Skoplje = Skoplie).
š	,, ,,	*sh*—*e.g.*, Niš—spelt here Nish.
ž	,, ,,	*j*—*e.g.*, Tundža—spelt here Tundja.

REFERENCES.

A good general account of Cvijić's views on the structure of the Balkan Peninsula, views which have been largely followed in the above description, will be found in an article by K. Peucker, "Cvijić on the Structure of the Balkan Peninsula" (*Geographical Journal*, xix., 1902). See also a short article by Professor Cvijić, "La Forme de la Peninsule des Balkans," in *Le Globe*, xi., 1900, and a critical account by Philippson, "Neuere Forschungen i. d. westlichen Balkanhalbinsel" (*Geographische Zeitschrift*, ix., 1903). Cvijić's own full account of his observations and deductions is published only in Serbian, but some account of them is given in his "Grundlinien d. Geographie u. Geologie v. Mazedonien u. Altserbien" (*Petermann's Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, 162, 1908). See also Philippson, "La Tectonique de l'Égéide" (*Annales de Géographie*, vii., 1898).

For a special study of the region a large scale map is essential. An excellent one is *Der Europäische Orient*, 1 : 1,200,000, prepared by the *K. K. Militär-Geographische Institut* in Vienna, which has all the basins shown by special colouring.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICS: THE INDEPENDENT STATES AND THEIR ASPIRATIONS

Difficulties in the establishment of independent states—The four existing states—Constituent elements of Bulgaria—Her rivers and her Thracian and Macedonian ambitions—Greece and the Ægean—The lands of Serbia—Her outlet to the sea—Ægean or Adriatic ?—The struggle for Salonika and the North Ægean—The independent states and the extra-peninsular Powers.

In the last chapter we indicated broadly the structural features of the Balkan Peninsula, and suggested their political significance. We saw that the structure is such that there is within the peninsula no natural centre about which a great state might crystallize, and, further, that the existence of two broad, diverging lines of communication, running respectively north to south and north-west to south-east, facilitates the entrance of alien peoples, and makes the establishment of even small states difficult. There is no natural rallying-point. There is easy access from Asia, for the waterways of which geographers used to make so much are but drowned river valleys. There is no natural line of separation from the plains of Central Europe. Is it, then, the inevitable

destiny of the peninsula to be an annex either of a Central European state or of an Asiatic one? Not a few diplomats and politicians have answered yes, but the inhabitants of the region have hitherto succeeded in defying them. They have, indeed, in many cases shown an almost superhuman tenacity in seeking their independence, or in maintaining it against the mighty of the earth. The poet may see in such struggles a manifestation of human greatness; the geographer will suspect that the surface relief is exercising an influence for which the diplomat has failed to allow. Whether or not the stars in their courses are fighting against Turk and Teuton we know not, but we can at least bring some evidence which tends to show that, despite appearances, the structure of the land is not wholly in their favour.

Let us note, then, in the first place quite generally, the relation of the existing states to the surface forms and the underlying structural features.

Before the 1913 settlement—if we can call an arrangement which settled nothing a settlement—there were in the Balkan region four independent states—Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro. Bosnia and Herzegovina had passed wholly from the Turk into the hands of the Austrian, who had still earlier obtained Dalmatia and the small part of Croatia which comes into the peninsula as defined on p. 15. Separating Greece alike from the Slav States and from the Austrian lands was

a broad belt of Turkish territory, which included a considerable part of the west coast (Albania and Epirus), the narrow, almost enclosed, region of Novibazar dividing Serbia from Montenegro, the area which extends southward from it to the Ægean, to which the vague name Macedonia is generally given in discussions of Turkish problems, and, finally, the belt between the southern boundary of Bulgaria and the Ægean, which similarly is somewhat vaguely called Thrace. The old boundaries are shown on Fig. 3.

If we compare Fig 3 with Fig. 2, which is a generalized sketch-map showing the structure of the peninsula in more detail than is possible on Fig. 1, we can correlate the political facts just given with the structural points discussed in Chapter I.

Let us begin with Bulgaria. What relation has this state to the three elements of the peninsula already described—that is, the central land core, the western mountains, and the west-to-east range of the Balkans ? As we see, the answer is that it includes the northern slope of the Central Upland, and the Balkan chain with the whole of its northern slope down to the Danube. As has been suggested (Fig. 2), between the core and the Balkans there lies a belt which in character is somewhat intermediate between the two. It is a region where recent earth movements have occurred, and so far resembles the mountains, but there is no recent

folding. Instead, we have basins, due to faulting, often separated by rocky sills, and containing fertile soil, different alike from that covering the

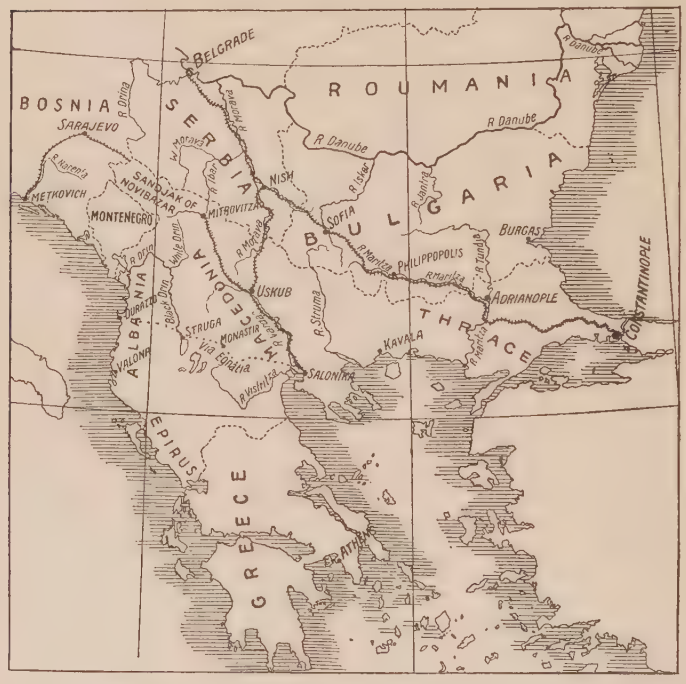

FIG. 3.—THE STATE BOUNDARIES BEFORE 1912 AND THE MAIN RAILWAY ROUTES.

The separate parts of Turkey in Europe are named. (*Cf.* Fig. 2.)

limestones of the young folded chains, and that which lies upon the old hard rocks of the core. Volcanic outbursts have also occurred in the not very distant past.

So much for generalities, but we can in a word or two make the picture a little more real by adding a few details. The Balkans are not lofty, and they have a long, gentle, northern slope to the Danube, a slope which presents certain difficulties of communication, owing to the way in which the rivers are sunk in deep valleys, which sometimes suffers from want of water, but which contains not infertile land. The southern slope is steep, and at its foot lies a long, narrow, fertile valley, bounded to the south by a range of hills—the Anti-Balkans—which have been called the "shadow" of the Balkans. Beyond this range lies a wider valley, whose southern wall is formed by the slopes of the Rhodope or central core (see Fig. 5, p. 75).

The narrow Inter-Balkan valley, a region of great tectonic interest, has a mild climate, modified by the northern screen of the Balkans, and contains much fertile land. We may think of it meantime as perfumed by the roses of Kazanlik, as rich in corn and wine, in contrast to the meadows and woods of the northern Balkan slope.

The wider valley to the south of the Anti-Balkans, which is drained by the Upper Maritza River, contains the basin of Philippopolis, and is traversed by the great road to Constantinople, a road which, time and again, has been reached by armed hosts across the passes of the Balkans, though its natural northern entrance is by Nish and Sofia. Beyond the valley the Bulgarian lands

slope upwards to the Rhodope, whose summits reach some 9,500 feet in the Rila Mountains.

This was the Bulgaria of the days before the Balkan Wars of 1912-13; functionally we may say a piece of garden ground along a highway, a highway whose extremities were beyond the control of the gardeners, a garden whose southern and western walls were the crests of the Central Upland, whose frontage was the waterway of the Danube. Her ambitions, which seemed to be within realization as a result of the first Balkan war, and were all but blasted by the second, can best be realized by looking for a moment at her rivers.

The merest glance at the map will show that the rivers of Bulgaria—and it is a character which they share with many of those of the peninsula generally—have as a special feature a sudden elbow-turn on their course. Note, for example, the Tundja and the Maritza. The first runs for a time through the Inter-Balkan valley of which we have just spoken. Its natural and legitimate fate was to have continued this easterly direction till it fell into the Black Sea near Burgas, its function to have carried the attar and the corn of the valley to that port. Instead, at the moment when it seems within reach of this goal, note how it turns south at a right angle, in order ultimately to enter the Maritza at the town of Adrianople. Necessarily and inevitably with this violation of the " geographical ought " it bears with it the

aspirations of the Bulgars south to many a bloody field, to the storm-point of Adrianople, to the devastated plains of Thrace.

Turn next to the Maritza. In its turn it repeats the same " unnatural " behaviour. For a time it heads towards Constantinople; there is, indeed, a valley, now utilized by the railway, which would lead it close to that town. Again, however, the river avoids its geographical destiny, swings westward, and makes for the Ægean. There is thus added one more competitor to those who, further to the west, lay claim to the shore-line of that trader's sea.

But even this is not all. Look far to the north and note how the Danube, like Upper Tundja, like Upper Maritza, has a west-to-east course, till, close to the Euxine, blocked by the rising ground of the Dobrudja, it turns north, beyond Bulgaria's ken, and is thus a contributing cause of that southward movement of which her recent history is full.

The Danube is, of course, a supremely important waterway. But we should realize that this effect of the direction of rivers on policy does not necessarily depend upon their navigability. The Maritza, in point of fact, though a powerful stream, is so blocked with sandbanks that it is practically useless for navigation above Adrianople; but it marks the line of easy passage by road and rail, and here, as always, men's thoughts travel with the river seawards.

We need not stop meantime to examine the 1913 frontier line of Bulgaria (see the coloured map) to show that it gives and yet withholds, tantalizes rather than satisfies, raises more problems than it solves. It is enough to have suggested that Bulgaria's desire to expand to the south and the south-east has its origin in certain geographical anomalies, themselves, as will be shown, due to the geological history of the peninsula. Her still unsatisfied longing for a westward and south-westward advance, on the other hand, has its basis largely in politics and history.

Without stopping to consider details, let us for a moment return to our garden metaphor. Beyond her western wall is a battle-ground, a region where the conflict waxes and wanes, but ceases never. When the struggle is hot, Bulgaria's massive retaining wall may serve as an asylum to refugees; if relative calm reigns hosts and guests may descend over it to the plains beyond. The constant succession of these movements, movements which, by the way, almost always occur on the margin of Turkey's territories, has given Bulgaria an "interest," racial, political, religious, in the troubled land beyond her frontier. More than this, from her retaining wall she looks down upon a part of the long *couloir*, at the bottom of which lies the great southern gate—the port of Salonika, the magnet which has an irresistible attraction for almost all Balkan peoples.

After this discussion of Bulgaria we may treat Greece more briefly. Let us look again at Fig. 2 to answer the question, What is Greece? Fundamentally her land is obviously the southern end of the western mountain-chain, bounded on its inner side by a fragment of the central core. But—and here is Greece's great advantage—what should have been the continuation of that central core is drowned beneath the Ægean, an all but land-locked, island-sprinkled sea, which runs up into the land in many inlets, separated by mountainous peninsulas, prolonged landwards by fertile basins. The sinking of the old Ægean continent has given to Greece that facility of communication which is denied to the other States. Her destiny lies upon the sea, for it is the sea which has made her possible, and therefore her demand is ever for more and more coast-line. Northward she would creep along the Adriatic shore, eastward along the margin of the Northern Ægean, and from island to island across the sea. The eastern shore of that sea also, is it not but a broken part of her land? The only Balkan state with a Mediterranean element—if not a very strong one—in her population, Mediterranean in her climate and her products, her longing for shore-line and yet more shore-line, is something deeper and stronger than the others' desire for outlets for their products. While they yield essential foodstuffs also, her land, fruitful only in places, gives chiefly luxuries, and her hopes for the future

rest upon trade rather than upon the plough and the ox, the symbols of her Slav neighbours.

Let us turn next to Serbia. Prior to the wars of 1912-13 her somewhat limited territories could be very simply described. Broadly speaking, her lands then consisted of the narrowed apex of the Rhodope mass, with its northern slopes to the Save-Danube. Their eastern limit was the mountain-chain which marks the connection between Transylvanian Alps and Balkans, their western the slopes of the Dinaric Alps. If we put the matter in another way, and recall the old sea of which we have spoken, which once covered the Hungarian plain, then we may say that the Serbia of 1911 consisted of the steep slopes which bounded that old sea to the south, plus a fragment of the old sea-floor near the present Save-Danube valley. Part of the Hungarian plain was included in the old Roman province of Pannonia, and in consequence the name Pannonian Basin is sometimes given to the sea which covered it at a still earlier stage. Thus, Serbia's most fertile corn-producing lands are formed by her share of the Pannonian sea-floor, her pastures and woods by the slopes of its steep southern shores. But, and this is an important point, a long inlet of the Pannonian Sea ran southwards down what is now the Morava valley, so that fertile land is found well within the Rhodope mass. Thus, the ropewalks of Leskovatz (Fig. 4), themselves the result of the hemp-fields of the

Upper Morava valley, are ultimately due to the soft deposits laid down in an old arm of the Tertiary sea.

This upper part of the Morava valley was attached to Serbia by the Berlin Treaty of 1878, and represents the beginning of her southward extension, an extension which continued in 1912. But when the 1878 line was drawn, it passed, not through the watershed between Morava and Vardar, the northern and southern streams, but through the Morava gorge near Vranya (see general map). This is due to the fact that the watershed, which is the parting line between Black Sea and Ægean, is very low, only 1,500 feet above sea-level, and quite indistinctly marked. Farther west, indeed, there is no definite parting between one of the tributaries of the Morava and one of those of the Vardar, the two in wet weather having a common origin. This condition is believed by Professor Cvijić to be due to the fact that an arm from a southern sea at one period united with the southward-stretching inlet of the old Pannonian Basin. However this may be, the result, as we have already seen, is to afford a relatively easy passage for road and rail from Belgrade to Salonika, and thus to turn Serbia's thoughts to the Ægean.

Serbia's western boundary, we have said, is formed by the Dinaric Alps. Politically the frontier is for the most part the Austrian territory of Bosnia. Beyond the limits of that land, the

frontier in 1911 ran south-east, and was constituted by the sandjak of Novibazar, a narrow belt of hilly land, which, as we have already noted, divided Serbia from Montenegro till the last Balkan wars. Novibazar is largely mountain-girdled, the most noticeable gap in its encircling mountains being at the south-eastern extremity, where the town of Mitrovitza (see Figs. 3 and 4) marks the entrance-gate.

Under Turkish rule Novibazar was largely a roadless no man's land, and the curious gap in the railway which would otherwise have run from Sarajevo (Sarayevo) through the sandjak to Uskub and Salonika should be carefully noted. The gap is the witness of the frustration, up till the present, of Austria's *Drang nach Osten*.

By comparing Figs. 2 and 3, and noting the position of the sandjak in the two, we perceive that its southern end is marked by a curious curving of the folds of the Dinaric Alps, which is associated with a change in the direction of the coast-line taking place in the vicinity of the estuary of the River Drin. This is a region of great importance, which we shall have to consider in some detail, for the direction of the mountain-folds suggests the possibility that Serbia may find here the free sea outlet for which she yearns. Here, indeed, there is a lateral *couloir* connecting with the main Belgrade-Salonika one, and the question whether it can be utilized by modern means of communica-

tion is one of the most important geographical problems of the whole peninsula. Serbia at least has few doubts on the subject, and the outlet to the Adriatic was one of the motives which drove her into the 1912 war, and led to the making of the secret treaty with Bulgaria, which was again the main cause of the quarrel between the two, and thus of the second Balkan war.

Serbia's ambitions in the direction of the Adriatic, like Montenegro's desire for the possession of Scutari, were, however, frustrated by the Powers, who insisted upon the erection of an independent Albania, and thus concentrated the aspirations of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece alike on the north-western corner of the Ægean. This led, naturally enough, to quarrels among the three larger Balkan States, and while Serbia and Greece agreed to adjust the questions at issue between them, their settlement—we may frankly admit—was to some extent at the expense of Bulgaria, whose disappointment led her into the short, and to her disastrous, campaign of 1913. But there is the possibility that some at least of the Powers foresaw that an independent Albania might lead to quarrelling among the Balkan Powers, and that their motive in supporting its erection was not wholly uninfluenced by this possibility. For we must remember that the interests of the extra-peninsular Powers are best served by conflicts among the independent states.

Be this as it may, the structure of the lands in Serbia's possession before 1912 was such as to suggest to her two natural lines of expansion—one to the south-east, which had in it the risk of collision with Bulgaria, the other to the south-west, which would bring her to the open sea. The European Powers blocked the latter route, and, driven to the former, Serbia, as we have said, naturally found herself in conflict with Bulgaria. These are the facts of past history; at a later stage we shall say something of future possibilities, but before doing that it will be necessary to consider in another chapter the encumbered lateral *couloir* which leads from the new Serbian boundary to the sea (Fig. 4). We may add that, though Serbia doubtless desires to add Bosnia and Herzegovina to her lands, there is no evidence that she seeks in them a commercial outlet to the Adriatic.

Before leaving Serbia there is one other point which must be mentioned. We have said that her land includes parts of the floor of the old Pannonian Sea. Now, except for the line of the Save and the Danube, no natural obstacle separates the Serbian from the Hungarian parts of the old sea-floor. Such rivers are, it is true, strategic obstacles in time of war, but they offer no barrier to free intercommunication in time of peace. The result has been such that we find that Serbia has a political but not a racial boundary to the north, and that for a reason to be considered. In the

peninsula generally the Turk oppressed the peasant to the extent and in the degree to which his power permitted at the different stages of his history. When the oppression became intolerable, the peasants tended to find refuge in the mountains and uplands: thus the Montenegrins found a permanent shelter in their own mountain-girt land. But Hungary relatively early succeeded in driving the Turk back, and thus her lands represented for the oppressed Slavs of the north of the peninsula the refuge which those farther south had to seek in mountain fastnesses. The result was to help to produce the large Slav population of Southern Hungary, to give the independent Serbia which slowly emerged from Turkish chaos interests to the north, far beyond her own confines. This fact has greatly complicated her relations with Austria-Hungary. Within the frontiers of Serbia the passionate Slav desire to own plough-land, in however insignificant an amount, has been largely satisfied; outside her boundaries, and especially in Bosnia, the condition of the ploughing Slav peasant is scarcely, if at all, better under the Austrian than under the Turk. What wonder, then, if the Serb within and the Serb without alike long for a Greater Serbia!

We may add that this peculiarity of having many compatriots under alien rule is not peculiar to Serbia; it is a result of Turkish rule which appears, to a greater or a lesser extent, in all the

Balkan States. There are many Bulgars in Roumania; there are many Greeks in Asia Minor: such facts greatly complicate home politics in each case.

The last independent Balkan State, tiny Montenegro, may be dismissed meantime in very few words. Her lands cover the south-east extremity of the Dinaric Alps, a fragment of the depression in which the Lake of Scutari lies, and an infinitesimal stretch of coast-line. Historically she is a Cave of Adullam, a mountain-tract in which the bold, the strong, the crafty, have found refuge from the Turk, a nation whose present prince has characteristically proved not inferior to the Austrian in guile. Her most urgent unsatisfied ambition is the possession of Scutari, which in any new adjustment can hardly be denied to her.

We have thus indicated generally the kind of land which was in the possession of each of the four independent states before the last Balkan wars, and have endeavoured, as impartially as may be, to set forth the lines of development which the structure of the peninsula renders "natural" to each state. If this were all, it might be supposed that the three larger states could be left to adjust matters in their own way—to settle whether Serbia's destiny lay towards Durazzo or Salonika, whether Greece, Bulgaria, or Serbia's claims to that much-contested port were greatest; to solve, if they can, the difficult question of the fate of Macedonia. But unfortunately for the states, a number of

extra-peninsular Powers are interested, directly or indirectly, in the settling up. Of these two, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, though even in Turkey's case the centre of gravity lies now outside the peninsula, have possessions within it, possessions which, both would probably frankly admit, have for them a significance which bears no particular relation to either the wishes or the welfare of the inhabitants. Austria, especially, regards her peninsular lands from the point of view of *Weltpolitik*, not from that of their cultivators. Both states, we must repeat, are (or were) drawn towards the peninsula by the magnetism of its two great furrows, with their contained highways. In addition to the Dual Monarchy and Turkey, which actually own lands within the region, other Powers, especially Russia and Italy, have interests therein, as, to a minor degree, have most of the Powers of Europe. But for our immediate object at present, which is to make clear the connection between the land forms of the peninsula and its internal politics, only Turkey and Austria-Hungary are of importance. We shall therefore devote the two next chapters to their possessions at the period prior to the first Balkan war.

CHAPTER III

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: HER BALKAN LANDS AND HER BALKAN INTERESTS

The ports of Austria-Hungary and their position—Strategic importance of Dalmatia—The motives of the Austrian advance into the peninsula—The karst country and its access from the sea—Characters of the central mountain zone—The hilly region near the Save—Reasons for the arrested economic development of the Austrian possessions in the peninsula.

In the last chapter we not only discussed the general characters of the lands of the independent states, but also showed that the nature of the surface was such as to tempt each to expand in certain definite directions. Austria-Hungary has large areas of fertile land in Central Europe. Her Balkan lands are sometimes very unproductive, are nowhere so rich as to attract merely because of their natural wealth. What, then, has been the motive which led the Dual Monarchy to expand southwestward? Such a question naturally suggests itself at the outset of our special study of her intra-peninsular possessions.

Two motives at once present themselves, and now one, now the other, has predominated in her policy. In the first place certain regions within

the peninsula have a strategic value in relation to her territories outside its boundaries, and in the second her existing Balkan possessions mark a possible line of advance towards Salonika, and thus a possible way of participating directly in the trade with the east. Let us consider each motive in a little detail.

If we glance once again at Fig. 1 we may realize without difficulty that the complex ramifications of the Alps and their continuations tend to cut off alike the vast plains of Hungary and the hills, valleys, and uplands of Austria from the sea. Both countries indeed have but a very limited coast-line. At first sight, then, it might be thought that the motive for the extension into the Balkan Peninsula was the desire for a broader sea-front. In point of fact, the whole long stretch of Dalmatia has, from this point of view, extraordinarily little significance. Its shore is so cut off from the interior as to be of little value. Austria and Hungary have, however, each a considerable commercial port. The two—Trieste and Fiume—lie in little notches where the peninsula of Istria joins the mainland, Trieste being in the northern notch and Fiume in the southern. On Trieste the Italians look jealously, and it is perilously near the Italian frontier. Were the coast-line of Dalmatia, and especially its northern island belt, in the possession of another Power, then the two ports of the Dual Monarchy would be within the jaws of a

vice, which might close at any moment. The possession of Dalmatia is thus in Austria's view a safeguard, a strategic necessity.

Dalmatia is necessary to protect the coast-line of Croatia with its port of Fiume, Bosnia and Herzegovina are necessary to protect Dalmatia from an attack from the interior—so the argument goes. Montenegro's minute sea-front, the resolution of the Powers to create an independent Albania, are both facts related to the same supposed strategic necessity. More than this, further to the south the Strait of Otranto is but some forty-five miles wide, which means that Italy's determination that Austria shall keep her hands off South Albania is only matched by the tenacity with which the latter Power holds on to Dalmatia. The result is that the fate of a large tract of land has been settled, not by the interests or the desires of its inhabitants, but by the large strategic needs of the adjacent Powers.

It would, however, be unfair to blame Austria only for this condition of affairs. She has treated Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina as but pawns in her political schemes, she has shown a cynical disregard of elementary human rights, but she has not been alone in this attitude of mind. The sudden awakening of the European conscience to the rights of the little nations has perhaps not been wholly unrelated to the fact that some of these nations have shown a remarkable capacity both

for defence and attack. If these Austrian lands are to win freedom in their turn, it can only be by showing that they have the will to demand their rights and the strength to press their claim.

Austria's second motive in advancing into the peninsula has been in the hope of advancing, step by step, upon Macedonia and Salonika. Here, again, before we condemn her, we must remember that not a few publicists, hopeless of the development of the power of self-government among the peoples here, and convinced of the rottenness of Turkey's rule, have seen in an Austrian advance the best hope of a desperate land. This policy did not perhaps take sufficient account of the fact that the Balkan Slavs might not share the Teutonic passion for being ruled, for the blessing commonly described as a " firm Government "; but we must remember that the Treaty of Berlin gave Austria certain rights over the sandjak of Novibazar, rights which might be interpreted as leaving open the road to a future advance. These rights were abandoned by Austria at the time of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908). This abandonment has been advanced as a reason for believing that she has given up all designs upon Salonika; but we have to remember that the interests of Austria and of Hungary in the Balkans are not identical, and it has been suggested that Austria's retreat was a mask to cover a proposed advance on the part of Hungary, an advance by the easier

route through Serbia. This is not the place for a full discussion of such questions; the main point to make clear is that Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, itself one of the causes of the present war, was not motived primarily by the economic value of the lands seized.

We must proceed next to such a description of them as will enable us to understand why they are of little economic value to Austria, and to consider the question whether there is a possibility that they could be attached for their own advantage to a Greater Serbia, or to some other Slav state.

In the first chapter we stated that the Dinaric Alps—using the word in the wide sense—are a continuation to the south-east of the Eastern Alps. They differ, however, in a considerable number of ways from those Alps, notably in the presence of an inner belt of rocks, chiefly sands and marls (flysch beds), which weather to form more or less fertile, undulating ground. The question where the line is to be drawn between the Eastern Calcareous Alps and the Dinaric chain is a geological one of some difficulty. The line certainly does not correspond to any political frontier, nor does it coincide with the geographical northern boundary of the peninsula, as defined on p. 15. The last-named boundary is indeed a line drawn purely for the sake of convenience; it is the western extension of the Danube-Save furrow, and nothing more. According to some geologists, the Dinaric Alps

should be regarded as beginning south of a line between Görz and Laibach. South of such a line we come into the karst country—that is, the region of predominating limestone—where surface streams are few or absent, for drainage is underground in character, and the soil is scanty, being generally present only in depressions, surrounded by naked rocks.

But if we regard the Dinaric chain as rising so far to the north as Görz and Laibach, we have to realize that at first it is narrow and not lofty. The possibility of utilizing Fiume as a commercial port depends upon the fact that its mountain-backing is, relatively, easily crossed by road and rail. The deep inlet of the Gulf of Quarnero, the fact that the Save flows from the north-west, brings the Adriatic Sea nearer to that river at this point than at any other. We may put the matter in another way by saying that the old Pannonian Sea came nearer the present Adriatic here than elsewhere, or again by saying that the depression which formed the North Adriatic penetrated the mountain-rim more deeply here than farther south. In any case the result is that Fiume marks the position of a gate—the only gate, though not a wholly satisfactory one—which opens from the Adriatic to the Hungarian plain.

Beyond this narrow region the Dinaric chain widens considerably, and runs in a south-east direction, parallel to the coast-line, down to the estuary of the Drin—that is, to the Gulf of San

Giovanni di Medua. It is widest in the centre of Bosnia; it is nowhere high enough to reach the present snow-line, the highest peak—apart from the North Albanian Alps—being Durmitor in Montenegro, which is not very much over 8,000 feet, while between 6,000 and 7,000 feet is the more usual height of the big peaks; but it offers obstacles to transverse traffic which are out of all proportion to its elevation.

The reason for this is to be found in the prevalence of limestone, with a resultant barrenness and absence of river valleys, and the fact that the region, like so much of the peninsula, has been subjected to recent earth movements, which are perhaps still going on, and greatly complicate the relief.

As regards the geological structure, and to some extent also as regards the surface forms, the wide chain can be divided into three belts. These are: the marginal chains, usually littoral, which consist for the most part of very pure limestones; the central zone, loftier than the first, where impure limestones are intermixed with old, often metaliferous rocks; an inner zone of flysch—that is, of soft marly and sandy beds—which slopes down to the Save. Let us take the three in order.

The limestone belt, giving rise to typical karst country, runs through Istria, includes the islands and mainland of Dalmatia, and a considerable part of Herzegovina. It is continued onward into Montenegro and Albania, but meantime we may

neglect it there. The limestone hills, naked and blazing, mostly rise straight from the shore, and, with few exceptions, of which the Narenta is the most noticeable, are crossed by no important rivers. The coast-line is fringed by numerous islands, mostly elongated in the direction of the shore, which also consist of limestone, and the mainland is margined by channels (" canali "), elongated in the same direction, so characteristic in appearance that physical geographers speak of the region as constituting a special type of coast (" Dalmatian type "). Obviously the islands and channels alike are due to the fact that there has been recent subsidence here. The mountain-folds run parallel to the coast; when the North Adriatic was formed by the foundering of an old continental area, part of the folded region sank also. Where the sinking was greatest islands were formed, where it was less the water entered the valley, and the mountain-fold formed a peninsula, thus turning the old valley into a channel.

From one point of view we have here all the conditions necessary for the production of good ports, for the channels and islands give the possibility of shelter. But the steep limestone hills behind cut off these potential ports from the interior, and, except in the case of Fiume, the limestone hills are but the advance guard of loftier hills, which have also to be traversed before a commercial hinterland can be reached.

But to the rule that the limestone hills rise steeply from the shore two regions offer notable exceptions. One is the peninsula of Istria, which, though composed of limestone, is in part of no great elevation. The second exception comes within the Balkan Peninsula. From the Canale della Montagna—that is, from about the position of the port of Zara—as far south as the port of Spalato, the hills retreat, and there is a low coastal strip of some width. Karst conditions prevail here also, but in this tract there were in Roman times a considerable number of flourishing towns, and it has certain possibilities not at present taken advantage of. Further, the coastal strip here is traversed by the not inconsiderable River Kerka, at whose mouth lies Sebenico, while Scardona, further inland, was important in Roman times. Owing to the steplike nature of the land, however, the course of the Kerka is obstructed by waterfalls, and it does not offer an easy passage to the interior. But from Sebenico a road and a railway penetrate inland, though neither takes advantage of the Kerka valley, and neither gives direct connection with the Save valley. More important in earlier days was the road from Spalato and Salona to Gradiska on the Save, which was the main line of communication between the Hungarian plain and the Adriatic both in Roman and in medieval times. There is not yet complete railway communication by this route, though a railway line runs a short

distance inland from Spalato, and there is a road which affords access to some fertile basins. Spalato has the further interest that, while south of it the karst hills again approach the coast closely, they have behind them a gap which permits a road to be carried from the immediate hinterland of Spalato to the Narenta basin. Railway construction here would be easy, but it would, of course, only serve the coastal belt.

The only other important coastal feature, till we reach the vicinity of the Drin, is the wide Narenta estuary, up which passes the only existing line of rail which connects the coast of Dalmatia with the Hungarian railway system. To the River Narenta we shall return.

As contrasted with these coastal karst chains, we find that the central mountain zone shows karst phenomena only where limestone predominates, and that even the limestone tracts are less forbidding than on the shore, because the impurity of the rock allows of the formation of a deeper soil. But the special feature of this zone is the presence in it of elongated, flat-bottomed basins, the karst-polyen, which are swampy in certain places or at certain seasons, may have temporary rivers running through them, but for the greater part of the year, at least, are drained by underground channels, the water sinking through the limestone. Their flat floors are often covered by fertile soil, and it is here that cultivation is chiefly carried on. They

tend to be elongated in a direction parallel to the mountain-folds, and there is still some dispute as to the degree to which they depend upon tectonic causes—*i.e.*, upon the structural features of the mountain-chains—or as to whether they can be regarded as practically due only to the effect of acidulated water upon the limestone. The question does not affect us greatly, but we have to note that the absence of rivers means that the polyen are isolated, no valley or natural line of communication connecting one fertile basin with another. Apart from the land question, which is urgent in Bosnia, one of the great grievances of the peasant under Austrian rule is that the roads and railways which have been made have mostly been of strategic value, and the construction of the ways necessary to put the fertile belts in free communication with one another has not been seriously taken in hand.

Rivers, we have suggested, are absent in Dalmatia because of the way in which the water sinks into the limestone. But this phenomenon depends, of course, upon the relation of the amount of water to the porosity of the limestone, and to its water content. There is much evidence to show that the disappearance of rivers from some of the polyen is a recent phenomenon. Diminution of atmospheric moisture since the Ice Age and local elevation of the surface have both been put forward as possible causes. We have already stated

that this central zone has other rocks, of ancient types, in addition to limestones. In such rocks rivers tend to arise in normal fashion, and while small streams may be swallowed up as they emerge on the limestone areas, a powerful stream, fed by mountain torrents, may survive. This is what happens in the case of the Narenta, which, rising in lofty mountains, has by the time it reaches a karst area volume and swiftness enough to overcome the effects of the limestone. Like the Nile through the desert, so the Narenta contrives to flow through the karst as a powerful, mud-carrying stream, as devoid of tributaries as is the Nile in Egypt. Owing to the absence of tributaries and of surface weathering, the river tends to run in a deep canyon, and as it cuts its way down through the limestone, it taps the ground-water, which gushes out in springs in the canyon walls. Its impetus carries it even through the thirsty coastal belt, and the wide valley of its lower reaches is a polye with the unusual feature of surface drainage. Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina, is placed in a wide and fertile part of its course.

The Narenta carries down a large amount of detritus, with which it tends to silt up its estuary, but the Austrians have improved the channel, so that Metkovich, near the mouth, has become the port of Mostar, as also of Sarajevo in the interior.

The narrow-gauge railway, like the old Roman road, follows the river through all its lower wide

valley. Farther up, however, where it reaches the belt of karstland, the stream lies at the bottom of a deep canyon. Here the Turkish road left the stream, as did one of the Roman roads; but the modern engineer has boldly carried road and rail through the heart of the gorge. The canyon region passed the river, which here comes at an abrupt angle from the south, is quitted, and the road and railway cross the Ivan Saddle, at a height of over 3,000 feet, in order to traverse the central chain and so reach Sarajevo. This is rendered possible on the railway by a rack-and-pinion arrangement, a costly plan, which seems to show that the line cannot acquire any great commercial significance.

Arrived at Sarajevo, the line branches. One arm runs north to the Save, another turns south and ends " in the air " at the frontier of Novibazar, as a pathetic monument of an unachieved purpose (Fig. 7).

We have described this line in some detail, for it is essential to make clear that, while the lower Narenta valley has free communication with the Adriatic seaboard, Bosnia generally is for all practical purposes unconnected with that seaboard. By whatever route Serbia in the future is to export her cattle, it is not likely to be by Sarajevo and Mostar. Again, if Novibazar cannot reach the coast save by the same route, it is likely to remain undeveloped.

We have still to speak of the third belt of the Dinaric Alps, the inner or flysch zone, which slopes downward to the Save. This region is traversed by rivers of the normal type, with manifold tributaries. It is largely forested, especially with oak and beech; it drains to the Save, and is relatively easy of access from that river. Mingled with the soft flysch rocks are beds of serpentine, which form hills, and the whole country has a Central European aspect as contrasted with the " Eastern " appearance of the karst. But these statements are true only of the belt comparatively near the Save. The central chain seems to have undergone recent uplift, as compared alike with the flysch zone and with the coastal belt. One consequence is that those numerous rivers—Drina, Bosna, Verbas, and so forth—which on the map make so imposing a show, do not, as one would suppose, lead straight into the heart of Bosnia. Their upper courses are obstructed by rapid and waterfalls, or run through canyons, thus increasing the aloofness of the central belt, with its fertile polyen. Geographically more or less cut off alike from coastal strip and from the hilly land near the Save, it is possible that this zone may find its easiest line of development westwards into Serbia by the Western Morava, or southwards into that lateral *couloir* of which we have already spoken. This, however, leads us to what were Turkish lands till 1912, and so to the next chapter.

If, meantime, we sum up the essential points as regards the Austrian possessions within the Balkan Peninsula, we must note first that Austria's interests in them are primarily strategic; it is not her direct concern to satisfy the natural aspirations of their present inhabitants. Second, even had her prime motive been their commercial development, it is by no means clear that she is placed in the most favourable position to further this. The policy of the European Powers generally in the Balkans has been peace, or the appearance of peace, at any price, and Austria may feel that to produce a superficial order, a partial "European-ization" is all that could be reasonably required of her, in view of the deeper motives of her advance.

Again, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as we have tried to show, form a little block of mountain-land, very difficult of access and development from the sea; almost equally difficult of development from the north-eastern slope, on account of the absence of those long continuous valleys which lead into the heart of the Central Alps. The difficulty of development is greatly increased by the presence of isolated fertile basins in the interior. The chances of an economic development of the region would be greatly increased were it not cut off politically from the lands which bound it on the east and the south.

NOTE.

The great interest of the karst country, and the number of problems connected with the structure of the Dinaric Mountains, have led to a great output of papers upon the western region. We can mention only a few which will enable those especially interested to follow up the subject. A general account of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be found in Schlüter, "Die osterreichischen-ungarische Okkupations-gebiet u. sein Küstenland" (*Geographische Zeitschrift*, xi., 1905). See also Cvijić, "Morphologische u. Glaciale Studien aus Bosnien, der Hercegovina u. Montenegro" (*Abhandlungen d. K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, ii. and iii., 1900 and 1901); Grund, "Die Oberflächenformen d. Dinarischen Gebirges" (*Zeitschrift d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1908); Cvijić, "Bildung u. Umbildung d. Dinarischen Rumpffläche" (*Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 55, 1909); Grund, "Beiträge z. Morphologie d. Dinarischen Gebirges" (*Geographische Abhandlungen*, ix. 1910).

CHAPTER IV

TURKISH POSSESSIONS AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF 1912

Difficulties of nomenclature—Contrast of Macedonia and Thrace with Albania and Epirus—General characters of Thrace—Position and importance of Kavala—The basins of Macedonia—The coastal mountain-ranges and the Albanian Gap—Serbia and the Albanian coast-line—The Via Egnatia.

THE nomenclature of the regions which were in Turkish possession at the time of the outbreak of the 1912 war is a matter of some difficulty. Turkey in Europe has, as is well known, diminished by a process of slow attrition, and it is a nice question for purists in geographical nomenclature to decide the fate of a familiar name, when the province to which it was once applied is cut in two by a new political frontier. For our purpose here it is desirable to simplify the terminology as much as possible, more especially as for the most part the names have now only historical interest. Thus we shall use the name Thrace for that part of Turkey which, prior to the wars of 1912-13, stretched from the Bulgarian frontier to the Ægean, and from Constantinople to the vicinity of the port of Kavala. Macedonia we shall call the region which

extends from Novibazar to Salonika, and eastward from Albania to the meridian of Kavala. The northern part of this region is sometimes called Old Serbia; it again became Serbian territory in 1913. Albania is the coastal strip which extends from Montenegro to Epirus, which again marches with pre-1912 Greece.

Of these, Albania and Epirus are mountain-regions, limestones, and thus country of the karst character, being frequent, but not universal. Macedonia and Thrace, especially the former, are regions of basins and hills, the basins being sometimes still filled with lake water, as in the case of Lakes Okhrida, Presba, and Ostrovo, but oftener dry and floored with fertile soil.

For the present we may dismiss Thrace in a few words. Apart from that eastern area, largely steppe, which is still (spring, 1915) Turkish, it consists of the southern slopes of the Rhodope mass, pierced by the great River Maritza, and traversed by some other rivers, of which the Mesta is the most important. Close to the shore there are fertile basins, showing, though to a less marked extent, that character of isolation which has had so profound an influence on the history of the plains of Macedonia. As the rivers are often marshy at their mouths, the coast road, like the railway, though to a less extent, tends to run some little distance inland. In the vicinity of Kavala, however, a spur of the hills forces the road close to the

sea, while the railway runs inland through hilly country. Not far from Kavala are the remnants of the ancient historic town of Philippi (Fig. 6, p. 91), which owed its origin not only to gold workings in the neighbourhood, but much more to the fact that it was the eastern gate of Macedonia, a gate easily blocked by a defending force. When after the first Balkan War the Bulgarians were excluded by their allies alike from Salonika and the fertile basin of Serres, with its possible outlet of Orfani, they desired passionately to have Kavala, which was, however, equally lost to them.

Macedonia, as we have already suggested, consists essentially of the Vardar valley, together with the headwaters of the Morava, and the low watershed between the two rivers. But if we think of it in this way as primarily a *Durchgangsland*, a passage land—what we have called a *couloir*—we have to remember that north of Uskub a byway leads through the historic plain of Kosovo (the Amselfeld of German maps, or Plain of the Blackbirds), and so either by the Ibar to the Western Morava, and thus to Serbia, or through Novibazar into Bosnia. In other words, Macedonia is a land through which highroads may be driven, not a highway.

To the surrounding Powers, not unnaturally, this conception of Macedonia as a passage-way has been the dominant one through its long troublous history. But from another point of view

we may say that it is equally a land of fertile basins. We spoke in the last chapter of the polyen of Bosnia. Macedonia has polyen, too, though these do not necessarily show the level floor, the subterranean drainage of the karst-polyen of Bosnia. They do, however, show the same feature of tending to run parallel to the mountain-folds, and thus of forming disconnected rows, each separate basin being often somewhat difficult of access. If we direct our attention only to these basins, Macedonia may well seem a geographical paradise. Its plains are floored with fertile soil, are well watered, and the many streams make irrigation possible where the climate renders this necessary. Round about the gentle slopes rise mountains, not generally lofty, furnished with wood and with pasture, so that the inhabitants may seem to have almost all the resources of Nature within their reach. The towns, for example Monastir, Uskub, Diakova, Vodena, etc., are generally placed in each case at the margin of the plain, above the risk of flooding or swamps, within easy reach of pure water, and of the resources of the hills; while the streams, as they tumble into the plain, give the possibility of water power, by means of which local raw material could be manufactured into the necessities of life. But Mr. Bernard Shaw says that heaven and hell are but different aspects of the same thing, and in Macedonia we must admit that it is the second aspect

which has been tolerably continuously presented to the Macedonian and to the world.

The reason why the inhabitants have been unable to utilize the natural advantages of the plains lies partly, as we have seen, in the fact that the whole region lies open to invasion, alike from north and from south. Further, though each basin has within it the elements of prosperity, the relative difficulty of communication makes combination difficult, renders the making of anything but a local stand all but an impossibility. In connection with this relative difficulty of communication we should note, even at this stage, the frequency of that peculiar bend on the course of the rivers to which we drew attention in the case of Bulgaria. Note, for example, how the River Tserna, which passes through the fertile Pelagonian basin, in which lies Monastir, instead of taking the " natural " route to the south-east, turns upon itself at a sharp angle to flow north-east to the Vardar (see Fig. 11). Note, again, the bend on the Vistritza, which enters the south-west angle of the plain of Salonika, after a very curious course, and the headwaters of the Vardar itself. Examples, indeed, are frequent.

Generally we may say of Macedonia that its basins give opportunities to invading hosts to send off lateral swarms, without making it easy either for the invaders or the original inhabitants to form strong political groups. The region has been

one of ceaseless flux, as the human tide sweeps in and out from the surrounding better defended areas. One result has been to make the ethnology of Macedonia an almost insoluble problem.

We have already spoken in a general fashion of the parts of Bulgaria and Serbia which bound Macedonia on the east, and in the last chapter discussed the lands lying to the north of it. We must turn next to the very important question of its western boundary, constituted by Albania and Epirus.

Let us turn once again to Fig. 2. Through Austrian territories the mountain-folds, as we have already seen, run generally in a north-west to south-east direction, parallel to the coast, which is itself mostly mountain-bordered. In the region of the Drin Gulf, or, as it is sometimes called, the Bay of San Giovanni di Medua, there is a peculiar notch in the coast-line which marks a sudden change of direction, alike of mountain-folds and of coast-line. Immediately to the north of this notch the Dinaric folds in large part, but not entirely, swing round suddenly to the north-east, to form the North Albanian Alps (or Prokletia Mountains). These mountains form a rampart just beyond the south-eastern frontier of Montenegro, and their continuation is that incomplete barrier to the south-east of the sandjak of Novibazar of which we have already spoken (p. 30).

South of the Drin Gulf the Albanian folds

(Fig. 2) for a time have an almost north-to-south direction, and the coast from San Giovanni di Medua to the vicinity of Valona has the same direction. But these Albanian folds at their northern end also swing round to the north-east, in a direction almost parallel to the North Albanian Alps. These folds form the Shar Mountains (Shar Planina), which face the North Albanian Alps, across a troubled area of upland and depression, some forty-five miles wide from crest to crest. In both mountain-ranges the summit levels rise above 8,000 feet. If this were all, it is obvious that we should have here a natural gateway, leading into the great highway from Belgrade to Salonika, and thus forming a natural outlet from Serbia to the Adriatic. But, while most of the folds show this swing to the north-east, some—which Professor Cvijić calls the " resistant folds "—continue in the original direction—*i.e.*, remain parallel to the coast-line, though the mountains so formed are considerably lower than either the North Albanian Alps or the Shar Planina. The very diagrammatic sketch-map which forms Fig. 4 suggests the position of the hill and mountain ranges.

At the extreme eastern side of this map we see a part of the railway from Belgrade to Salonika, the Nish to Uskub section being shown. Stretching from the Serbian boundary eastwards to the small part of the Adriatic coast which is included, we have the encumbered lateral *couloir* which lies

between the North Albanian Alps and the Shar Mountains. In this *couloir* are three depressed areas, separated by ridges. Beginning at the seaward end, we have the depression in which the Lake of Scutari lies. Behind it is an upland region, which bounds to the south-west the Metoya depres-

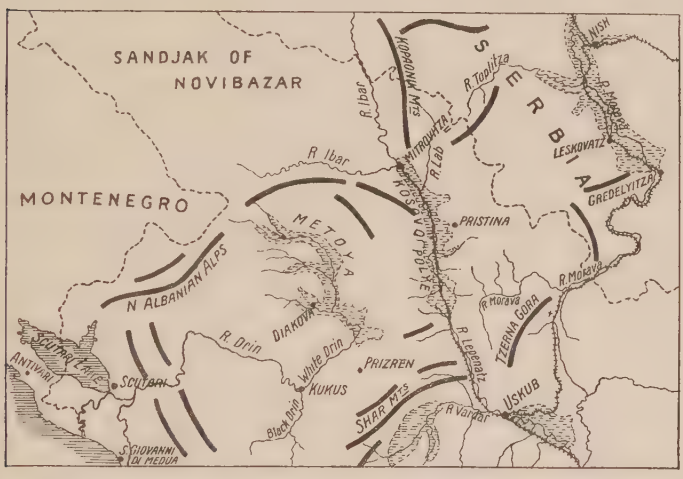

FIG. 4.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE ALBANIAN GAP, SHOWING THE THREE SUCCESSIVE DEPRESSIONS—THE SCUTARI, THE METOYA, AND THE KOSOVO—WITH THEIR INTERVENING WATERSHEDS, WHICH HERE LIE BETWEEN THE OLD FRONTIER OF SERBIA AND THE SEA.

sion, with the town of Diakova. Another upland, crossed by several roads, separates this, again, from the important Kosovo basin, with the towns of Mitrovitza and Prishtina.

The range behind Scutari is of pure limestone, and shows karst phenomena in their most pro-

nounced form. Through this karst country the Drin runs in a deep ravine, which the road—or, rather, track—avoids just as the road of earlier days avoided the similar gorge of the Narenta (p. 48). But roads in this region, even when marked upon the map, are apt to represent an ideal rather than a reality.

Now, the question for Serbia—a supremely important question—becomes, Is this lateral outlet to the Adriatic commercially practicable? That Serbia, alike in the person of her chief geographer and in her official policy, has answered the question in the affirmative, there can be no shadow of a doubt. The relative lowness of the mountains, their narrowness, and the fact that a railway line here would traverse successive belts of great potential productiveness, are points which seem to favour the commercial development of this region. The track of the Turkish days, we may note, rises between Scutari and the Metoya basin to a height of about 3,200 feet. On the other hand, Dr. Norbert Krebs, a distinguished Austrian geographer, answers the question in the negative, pointing to the fact that three watersheds (the third is on the old Serbian frontier—*i.e.*, north-east of Kosovo polye) intervene by this route between Nish and the sea, while there is only one on the Nish-Salonika route. But then he states frankly that, on strategic grounds, Austria cannot tolerate Serbia on the Adriatic, and one suspects that his nationality may

unconsciously sway his scientific judgment. It is at least clear that Serbia had this line of advance to the Adriatic in view when she began the first Balkan War, and obtained only a partial satisfaction of her ambitions in the somewhat vague permission to construct a line to the seaboard of independent Albania.

We must, however, point out that there are certain other geographical features to be considered in connection with this part of the Adriatic coast-line, in addition to the mere problem of the cost of railway construction and working. Serbia wants a seaboard, not merely a port in an alien land. What are the features of the seaboard here ?

The first point is that, in contrast to the Dalmatian coast, where there has been recent depression, there seems here to have been recent elevation. The limestone hills stand at some distance from the shore, and between them and the sea is a stretch of flat, swampy, malarious land, on which the rivers, notably the Drin, lay down great loads of silt. The contrast, indeed, between the steep Dalmatian coast and the flat, swampy Albanian coast offers certain resemblances to the contrast between the flat Venetian coast and the steep slopes of the Abruzzi, on the other side of the Adriatic Sea. Just as off the Venetian coast, so here there is a tendency for *lidi*, or ridges, to form, behind which are sheltered lagoons, and the risk of malaria; the changeableness of the coast-line is

as obvious here as on that other shore, though of course the hinterland is entirely different.

Largely because of their swampy and malarious coast-line, the Albanians are not a littoral people. Their home is the hills behind, not the immediate sea-margin. The point is of some interest, because it means that there is not here a race of people living the typical " Mediterranean " life, as there is in Dalmatia. Where men live on the shore in the Mediterranean region, they are generally fishers and small traders; on their hillsides they grow the typical Mediterranean crops, such as vine and olive and warm temperate fruit trees, notably the citrus-fruits. Such a people, though largely Slav of race, live on the coast of Dalmatia. Their mode of life is entirely different from that of the Slavs of the interior, who are fundamentally ploughing and pastoral peasants. Were Dalmatia by the fortune of war to be added to Serbia, it seems possible that the existence of a group of people of such different social polity from those of the interior might be a cause of trouble in a young, expanding state. That particular difficulty does not arise—or only to a very limited extent—on the coast of Albania, where the lands bordering the sea are chiefly used for winter pasturage by the hill-dwelling Albanians. Their towns also tend to be, not littoral, but placed where the mountain-streams debouch upon the coastal plain. One should note also that the abundance of rivers, itself due to the

relative insignificance of the limestone, is a marked contrast with the Dalmatian coast. The river valleys make communication with the interior easier than is the case in Dalmatia. Perhaps we should add that the malaria of the coastal belt here is not an insuperable obstacle to a progressive people.

At the present time on this north-to-south stretch of Albanian coast no port of any significance exists. There are various possibilities, though in all cases extensive harbour works would probably have to be undertaken. Thus we have San Giovanni di Medua, now a mere hamlet, and Durazzo, the latter being the port which Serb policy has favoured in the immediate past.

In regard to Durazzo an interesting point arises. As Fig. 3 shows, it was the starting-point of the old Roman road, the Via Egnatia, which ran past Struga to Monastir, and so to Salonika and Constantinople (see also Fig. 6, p. 91). From Monastir to the last-named town the old road is now functionally replaced by the railway; but the western section—that from the sea to Struga—has for the most part ceased to exist. Serbia's railway schemes, however, as put forward in her short breathing-space between the 1913 war and that of 1914, included an extension of the Salonika-Monastir route to Struga and Durazzo, with a connection from Struga to Uskub *via* Dibra (see Fig. 7).

We have stated above that the port of Valona,

occupied towards the end of 1914 by an Italian force, marks the end of the north-to-south stretch of the coast. More strictly speaking, the limit is the southern end of the bay of the same name, which is sheltered by the long tongue, whose extremity is called equally Cape Glossa and Cape Linguetta. This tongue marks the re-acquisition by the earth-folds of the south-easterly direction. From this point onwards the hills once more approach the shore; once more the interior becomes difficult of access. In the Epirus region there is no harbour save that of Santi Quaranta, the coast is for the most part steep, and paths to the interior are few. But the mountains differ in several respects from those of Dalmatia. Flysch beds and soft rocks of more recent date appear in addition to limestones. Farther south also the surface is more broken up by faulting, the sea interpenetrates the land more thoroughly, and the resultant absence of a large expanse of unbroken limestone prevents the appearance of ordinary karst forms, so that we get the typical dissected coast of Greece. Still further south the folds swing round to the east in Crete, but there we leave them.

One other question perhaps deserves a word or two before we close this chapter. On the structural map which forms Fig. 2 there is shown an intermediate belt, between old land core and mountainous rim, which practically coincides with Macedonia. According to Professor Cvijić, this

zone is truly intermediate in character, according to others it is the inner part of the mountain zone. We need not stop to consider this geological problem here, but it is worth repeating that in all this belt folding does not seem to occur. The forces which express themselves on the sea-margin in folds are indicated here in parallel lines of dislocation, which run parallel to the fold-lines—*i.e.*, nearly north and south—and give rise to the elongated basins of Macedonia. These basins were geologically but a short time ago all flooded with lake-water, and, as we shall see, the present anomalies of drainage are to be explained by the way in which part of the water gradually drained away as the North Ægean area sank below the sea.

NOTE.

Among the papers dealing with Turkish possessions mention may be made of Cvijić's great monograph on Macedonia and Old Serbia already alluded to (p. 18), also Oestreich, "Reiseeindrücke a. d. Vilajet Kosovo" and "Beiträge z. Geomorphologie v. Makedonien" (*Abhandl. d. K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft*, i., 1899, and iv., 1902), also "Makedonien," by the same author (*Geographische Zeitschrift*, x., 1904). For the sandjak of Novibazar, see Gaston Gravier, "Le Sandžak de Novi Pazar" (*Annales de Géographie*, xxii., 1913).

CHAPTER V

RIVER SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL TENDENCIES: THE HYDROGRAPHIC ANOMALIES OF THE PENINSULA

Normal river systems in Western Europe—Special peculiarities of the Balkan rivers—The Sub-Balkan river and its fate—River systems of North Macedonia—The low watersheds and their causes—Effect of river capture on racial ambitions.

In the preceding chapter we have emphasized two characteristics of the Balkan Peninsula—the anomalous courses of many of its rivers, and the absence of geographical centres round which national units might crystallize. In this chapter we shall attempt to show that the two facts are correlated, and to indicate also the reason for the hydrographic peculiarities.

Let us first, for the sake of contrast, consider for a moment a highly centralized state, taking France as our example. It is common knowledge that Paris is to a very marked degree the centre of France. Perhaps, however, only those who are acquainted with recent geographical work realize the extent to which the Seine has made Paris, and thus France. The capital is placed at a convergence of tributaries, tributaries which are themselves in several cases notable rivers, draining the

greater part of Northern France. Easy routes connect Paris with Orleans, again a city standing on a river with many converging tributaries, draining lands of various products, so that Orleans is only little inferior to Paris as a natural centre. The Saône-Rhone valley, a region so full of importance in the history of French civilization, can be reached by not very difficult routes from the Paris basin.

What is the relation of these facts to the development of France? Consider the prime conditions necessary for the development of a national unit. Surely there must be a central region where life is relatively easy, so placed that the varied products of diverse surrounding regions drain naturally into it, and yet having as its ultimate margin an area where life is relatively difficult, so that men's thoughts, like the surplus of their crops or of their manufactures, tend to flow towards the centre rather than outwards to the periphery. What are the lines along which movement of man and pack-beast, of boat or raft, of motor-car or railway engine, takes place most easily? Surely, at least in the most general case, the river valleys. France is France because of the way in which the tentacles of the Seine extend far north, east, and south, because of the proximity of its ultimate feeders to those of other great river systems.

If the detailed analysis of such points is relatively modern and still somewhat unfamiliar, the fact that

rivers in well-peopled countries generally consist of many converging tributaries is at least familiar, so familiar, indeed, that we are apt to regard it as an obvious " law of Nature."

Some other features of the well-known rivers of Europe we tend similarly to regard as general characteristics of large waterways. Thus many of these have rather low banks, gorges being an infrequent phenomenon. They rarely show elbow turns on their courses. The slopes of their beds are moderate, so that highroad, and often railway, tend to run alongside the water. It is of importance to stress such commonplaces, for the rivers of the Balkan Peninsula diverge in almost every respect from what we tacitly regard as the ordinary " laws " governing the hydrographic net of a country. Further, since physical geographers have begun to devote special attention to the courses of the familiar and " normal " types of rivers, they have been able to show that such " normality" is only present when the surface over which the river has been flowing has remained unmodified by tectonic forces for a prolonged period of geological time. The Balkan Peninsula shares—and shares to a very marked degree—the peculiarity of Mediterranean lands in general, of having been in a geologically recent epoch the seat of very considerable earth movements. As a result its river system—in part old—has been profoundly modified; new rivers have become joined up to old ones,

powerful streams have poached upon their neighbours' preserves, and the struggle of competing races has been paralleled—at an earlier date—by the conflicts of the streams. The racial confusion in Macedonia is balanced, as it has been in part created, by the confusion of its streams. A detailed study of these streams would lead us too far, but a description of one or two of them will help to make clear the difficulties connected with lines of communication.

The first point to notice is that, in harmony with its history as the oldest part of the region, the Rhodope mass is the hydrographic centre of the peninsula. Owing, however, to the formation of young folded mountains on its margins, its rivers have failed to keep the radiating course from this centre out to the sea which we should have expected of them.

What are the masses of water into which all the streams of the peninsula ultimately find their way, and which thus act as base-level? To the north the rivers enter the Save or the Danube, and thus the Black Sea. Except for this great artery, however, the Black Sea does not receive the larger rivers of the peninsula. A few enter the Adriatic, but large stretches of that sea's coast are almost streamless. Many rivers, and among them the more important, enter the Ægean, notably the Maritza, Mesta, Struma, Vardar, and Vistritza, of which the Maritza especially is a powerful river

with many tributaries. Our first point, then, is that the Ægean attracts streams, some of which originate outside of its drainage area; it attracts streams as it has always attracted peoples.

Let us consider next the origin of the three seas, which will give us a physiographical reason for this attracting power of the Ægean. The Black Sea is in essence old, and through later geological time has been diminishing, not increasing, in area. Not very long ago, as geologists count time, it extended, as we have seen, over the present plain of Hungary. There was a later period when the Pannonian Sea was linked with the water which spread over the Roumanian basin through the existing Iron Gates of the Danube, and the present Danube developed as that old sea retreated. At the same time the central valley of Bulgaria—that is, the East Roumelian basin—was also covered with water. In this region, then, the base-level has been retreating in recent geological time, and there has been further an elevation of the western margin of the Black Sea, which has helped to cut off, *e.g.*, the Tundja from it. This retreat of the base-level means that the cutting power of the rivers is diminished, the result being, as we shall see, that their headwaters are very apt to be tapped by other streams whose power of erosion is greater.

The date of the Adriatic's origin is not certain, but it seems clear at least that in Late Pliocene time—*i.e.*, in the period immediately before the

Glacial epoch—the North Adriatic basin was widened and deepened. When this happened, as we have already seen, the coastal stretch of Dalmatia sank also, so that the marginal valleys and the lower ends of the rivers were submerged. While however, the coastal belt sank, there seems to have been elevation of the inner mountain belt, an elevation accompanied by faulting, which helped to form the polyen.

Now, when the lower part of a river valley is submerged, the average steepness of its course is increased, and thus its erosive power is rendered more marked. In the upper courses of the Adriatic rivers this increased erosive power was accentuated by the elevation of the middle mountain belt. The result of this increased cutting power is seen in the gorge of the Narenta (p. 48), and its effect has been to diminish the accessibility of the inner zone. It must be remembered in this connection that a limestone district, whatever its rainfall, tends to show the characters of an arid region—*i.e.*, its tributariless rivers may cut down into the rock of their beds, but general weathering of the surface of the land proceeds only with great slowness.

The differential movements had, however, further effects in this region. In limestone areas the surface water soaks through crevices and cavities in the rock, and penetrates a certain distance downward. The level beyond which it does not sink is the *ground-water level*. When elevation of the

surface took place, the ground-level necessarily sank, and thus rivers which under old conditions had just succeeded in maintaining themselves at the surface tended to disappear. In the karst country there are many cases of river valleys in which rivers either no longer flow at all, or only at certain seasons. The disappearance of some at least of the rivers which formerly occupied these valleys is ascribed to the movements which we have described.

In general, then, the changes in the North Adriatic which took place towards the close of the Pliocene, with the associated changes in the adjacent land surface, led to certain rivers disappearing altogether into the limestone, and gave to others such increased erosive power that they tended to sink down into steep limestone gorges. Thus the total effect was to produce an increased inaccessibility of the middle mountain zone. The movement affected equally the rivers of the flysch zone (p. 40), with the result that the Verbas, Bosna, Drina, etc., are interrupted by gorges and waterfalls in their upper reaches, and, despite the appearance of the map, do not permit of easy access from the Save to the interior of Bosnia (*cf.* p. 49).

The effect of recent geological changes in the east and west of the peninsula has thus been, first, to diminish the importance of the Euxine rivers, largely owing to the drawing off of their head-

waters by the more powerful Ægean streams; second, to diminish also the importance of the Adriatic streams, either actually because they sank into the limestone, or practically because of the formation of deep limestone canyons.

Now let us turn to the Ægean in detail. Here a great stretch of land which once united the Rhodope mass to Asia Minor has sunk below the sea, carrying with it the lower parts of the courses—or perhaps a great central trunk—of the rivers which were draining much of the peninsula. All these rivers had their erosive powers greatly increased in consequence of this steepening of their beds, for, be it remembered, it was the lower, more or less level, part of their course which was cut off. The consequence was that the rivers, or perhaps the dismembered tributaries of a mighty stream, owing to their increased cutting power, ate back their watersheds, captured the headwaters of streams rising on the other side, and thus tended to deflect much of the surface water of the peninsula to the Ægean. Let us illustrate this general statement by a special study of some of the river systems.

We have already spoken of the Inter-Balkan valley, a trough lying between the Balkans and the Anti-Balkans, which seems to have originated through earth movements (Fig. 5). At one period it is clear that this trough was traversed from end to end by a mighty river, which ran from west to east, and entered the sea, probably by three mouths,

in the vicinity of the present port of Burgas, forming, as it were, a pale reflection of the Danube to the north. Some thirty odd miles to the south of this river there flowed another, also with a west to east course, the river represented to-day by the Upper Maritza. This early Maritza river was fed by tributaries flowing from the south side of the Anti-Balkans, and by others from the slopes of the Rhodope upland. In all probability, after passing the site of the present town of Adrianople, it took a south-easterly direction, and entered the Sea of Marmora not far from the present town of Constantinople. But when the Ægean sank, the river which now forms the Lower Maritza pushed back, tapped the present Middle Maritza, and drew the whole stream off in the direction of the Ægean. When this occurred the cutting power of the Maritza and of all its tributaries was greatly increased, and the tributaries proceeded to repeat the act of piracy on an ever-increasing scale. Thus one tributary, pushing its way backwards, cut through the watershed of the Anti-Balkans, and drew off the headwaters of the Inter-Balkan River. The headwaters so tapped now flow into the Maritza as the River Striema (Fig. 5). The same process was repeated successively, the Tundja being the greatest capture of the triumphant Maritza. The net result was to decompose an originally continuous river valley into a series of basins, separated from one another by ridges of no

FIG. 5.—THE INTER-BALKAN VALLEY AND THE BASIN OF THE UPPER MARITZA, TO ILLUSTRATE RIVER CAPTURE IN BULGARIA.

Heights above 1,625 feet (500 m.) are shaded obliquely; the chief basins are shown by interrupted horizontal shading. There were originally two parallel river valleys here, the stream which drained the Inter-Balkan Valley flowing into the Black Sea. But the powerful northern tributaries of the Maritza have eaten their way back through the watershed of the Anti-Balkans, and drawn off the waters of successive segments of the once continuous Inter-Balkan river. Scale nearly thirty-five miles to one inch.

great height. Some of these basins are shown in Fig. 5.

The ridges which separate the fertile basins are here, as we have said, not high, so that they do not offer any great obstacle to communication, but, and this is a very important point, the fact of their existence diminishes the importance of Burgas, and helps to turn Bulgaria's attention southwards to the Ægean. Had the Inter-Balkan river persisted into human time, we can hardly doubt that the products of its valley would have tended to drain towards the Black Sea port of Burgas, as naturally as the products of the Bulgarian part of the Danube Valley drain to the Bulgarian port of Varna, and those of the Roumanian part of the same valley to the port of Constanza. Thus the peculiarities of the courses of the Bulgarian rivers, themselves due to river capture conditioned by the sinking of the land which once covered the Ægean, has had an effect, and a very important effect, upon the political and commercial history of Bulgaria.

If the essential point of the meaning of river capture be grasped, the conditions in Bulgaria may be said to be relatively simple. In Macedonia, on the other hand, they are extraordinarily complicated. To attempt to give a full account of the singularities of the Macedonian drainage system would demand far more space than is available here, and the subject cannot at best be made very

simple. On the other hand, the troubles in Macedonia have been so often ascribed to sheer wickedness on the part of the Turk, or of some other scapegoat, that it seems worth while to discuss in a little detail the physiographic facts which have made it possible for the political confusion here to endure so long. Such confusion, we may be sure, could not have reigned in countries like France or England, opened up by extensive, copiously branched river systems.

Macedonia, as we have seen, is characterized by the number of usually small and general isolated basins, floored with fertile soil, which are either disconnected with one another, or are linked by rivers which deviate in almost every respect from the orderly streams to which we are accustomed. The reason is, fundamentally, that while in origin these basins are due to faulting and earth movements, the rivers flow in valleys which are often composed of segments of very different age. The complications of the drainage are thus related to the fact that, in marked contrast to the conditions in the Paris basin, the ordinary forces of erosion have only succeeded to a very partial extent in smoothing out the irregularities due to earth movements, and further to the fact that these earth movements themselves took place at different ages. We may compare the drainage conditions to the legal constitution of a country which has not once, but many times, undergone revolution,

so that the steady evolution of law and custom has been interrupted by catastrophic events, whose effects are visible in unexpected anomalies of jurisdiction and in constant breaches of tradition.

If the Turk, by a strange anachronism, succeeded till yesterday in keeping his hold upon the fertile lands of Macedonia, if at the moment its conditions under the Christian seems scarcely better than under his predecessor, we have to remember that the troubled and confused drainage gives a geographical cause, if not a justification, of the anomaly.

In the following description we shall try to give a brief history of the development of some of the streams and valleys, though this has the disadvantage that it does not make perfectly clear the contrast between facts of observation, and deductions based upon such facts. But as our object here is merely to emphasize the connection between the drainage anomalies and the difficulty of finding suitable commercial lines of communication to drain the separate fertile areas, this disadvantage is perhaps of minor importance. Those whose interest in the subject is primarily physiographical will do well to consult the special papers mentioned at the end of this and the preceding chapters.

A glance at the general map of the peninsula will show that the Morava, the chief river of Serbia, is made up of two main streams, called respectively the Western and the Southern Morava. The tributaries of these two drain a considerable part of

North Macedonia (Old Serbia). The map shows further that the Morava, continued by the Southern Morava, lies in a valley which has a general south-easterly direction from Semendria on the Danube to the ravine of Gredelyitza (Grdeljica), south of Leskovatz. Another valley, having the same general direction, but not traversed by one continuous stream, extends from the Western Morava, near the town of Kralyevo, through the plain of Kosovo, past the town of Uskub, and then by the Vardar valley to the vicinity of Salonika. These two troughs correspond in their general direction to that of the folds of the Dinaric Alps, and we may reasonably regard them as indicating original structural lines in the peninsula. Parts of both valleys are shown in Fig. 4, and it is worth while to look at the second in a little detail.

We note on this sketch-map that its most northern part is occupied by the River Ibar, a tributary of the Western Morava. That river has, for most of its course, a general north-western direction, but, as shown, its upper portion flows nearly east, and takes a sudden elbow turn at the town of Mitrovitza, which brings it into the tectonic valley of which we have spoken. South of Mitrovitza that valley is occupied by a tributary of the Ibar, not named on the map on account of the small scale, whose name is the Sitnitza. The Sitnitza, which for a time occupies the centre of the Kosovo polye, again enters it at an angle, but

one of its tributaries continues the valley line, and this tributary, at least in wet weather, is connected with a tributary of the Lepenatz, itself an affluent of the Vardar. The result is that in the southern part of the Kosovo plain we have a wholly undetermined watershed between an ultimate tributary of the Morava and an ultimate tributary of the Vardar. Now, the Vardar, be it remembered, flows to the Ægean, the Morava to the Danube, and so to the Black Sea. Thus in the very heart of the peninsula we have a swamp where there should be a great water-parting, a region of uncertain drainage in what ought to have been a definite line. Can we wonder that this plain of Kosovo has been, time and again, the scene of bloody slaughter? Here, in 1389, the Turks routed the Serbs and made their long dominance sure; here, in 1448, the Hungarians defeated the Turks, and made the end of that long dominance a probability of the future, set also a limit to Turkish sway.

The plain itself, be it noted, belongs completely neither to the Danube drainage system nor to the Ægean one. Politically it belonged till 1913 to the Ægean area (Macedonia). At present the Serbs, into whose possession it has fallen, can only develop it by a very circuitous route through Uskub. But they desire to link it directly to Nish by a railway (see Fig. 7) which would take advantage either of the Prepolatz Pass (over 3,000 feet), which

connects the Lab valley (see Fig. 4) with the Toplitza valley, a route now crossed by a road, or of the adjacent Merdare Pass. This is a curious instance of a proposed line of communication cutting a main valley at an angle. The conditions here, we may repeat, are not peculiar to the Kosovo polye. More or less throughout Macedonia we find that the constant occurrence of sharp angles on the course of the rivers makes their valleys circuitous as routes, and the associated presence of low watersheds makes direct communication by transverse roads between valleys both possible and desirable.

In the Kosovo polye the height of the indefinite watershed which occurs within the basin is only 1,900 feet, and it offers no obstacle to railway construction. It has indeed been crossed for a number of years by the railway which runs to Mitrovitza, but not beyond.

The same sketch-map (Fig. 4) shows the upper part of the second tectonic valley, that occupied by the Morava and Southern Morava, and it will be noted that here also there is a low watershed (marked by a cross on the map) between one of the tributaries of the Southern Morava and a feeder of a tributary of the Vardar. The watershed here is lower than in the preceding case, about 1,500 feet above sea-level, and thus offers no obstacle to the through railway from Belgrade to Salonika. The difficulties were indeed greater farther north, in the region of the Gredelyitza ravine.

Now if, as we have said, these valleys are old, are due to earth movements possibly associated with the folding of the western mountains, then it is obvious that there must have been recent changes in the drainage. Such a condition as that of a wet weather connection between the headwaters of one great stream and another, or a very low watershed, always means that changes have occurred in the immediate past. It is necessarily an unstable state of affairs; sooner or later one stream must gain the mastery over the other, and a readjustment takes place. If from one point of view the conditions in the Kosovo polye seem more remarkable than those where the ultimate feeders of Southern Morava and Vardar so nearly touch, we have to remember in both cases that the surrounding regions have a considerable mean elevation, and that it is extraordinary, in both cases, to find what are virtually valley watersheds in a mountain region. What explanation of the anomalies can we offer ?

Let us note first the meaning of sharp elbow turns on the course of a river. In the ordinary case such turns mean that one river, because of its greater erosive power, or because of the ease with which its bed can be eroded, has been able to encroach upon the territory of another less powerful stream, and draw off its headwaters. As we have all recently been poring over maps of North France, it may be interesting to point out

that a typical example of this condition is seen in the sharp turn on the course of the Moselle at Toul, which is due to the fact that the Moselle has been able to encroach upon the drainage area of the Meuse, and to draw off water which once flowed into that river. But such elbow turns may also be due either directly to earth movements upsetting drainage, or to captures induced by such earth movements. In the case of the Moselle and the Meuse, the former river has stolen water from the latter because its task of cutting back was, owing to the nature of the rocks, much easier. Thus the capture here is part of an ordinary process of erosion. On the other hand, the sharp turns in the case of the Macedonian rivers are due, not to the ordinary processes of erosion alone, but to a combination of these and the effects of earth movements.

Let us elaborate this latter point. The two valleys marked respectively by the Morava and Southern Morava on the one hand, and on the other by the Ibar, tributaries of the Ibar, a tributary of the Lepenatz, the Lepenatz itself, and the Vardar, are very old valleys, marking tectonic—that is, structural—lines in the peninsula. We need not assume that the second valley was ever traversed by a continuous stream, but there are great difficulties in the way of an attempt to determine the early river system of the region. What does seem clear is that, whatever the direction of

the original streams, segments of the tectonic valleys sank down as basins, or what the Germans call *Senkungsfelder* — that is, plains of sinking. The faulting which produced these movements was apparently associated with the beginnings of the formation of the Ægean. Its result was to reverse the drainage in certain parts of the river valleys, just as we could reverse the drainage in a part of a gutter by inserting a drain in the middle of its course. But the *Senkungsfelder* were only hollows, not drains, and therefore, necessarily, as the drainage reversed they became flooded with water, were turned into lakes. Such lakes formed over a large part of what is now Macedonia, and at the same time also over a large part of the old continent which was to sink to form the Ægean Sea. For we have to remember that the formation of that sea was not a sudden process. It was preceded by faulting, by differential movements, by a consequent formation of a vast system of lakes. At one period these lakes seem to have been confluent, and, according to Professor Cvijić, the great lake so produced not only spread over the area now covered by the Ægean Sea, but stretched far and wide over the present peninsula, and, penetrating through what is now the Gredelyitza ravine, joined up with the great Pannonian Sea, which covered the Hungarian plain, and thus turned the Rhodope upland into an island.

The next change was that the Ægean area sank

still deeper, and, from being a branching lake, became a part of the Mediterranean Sea. The result was to decompose that part of the old lake within the present peninsula into a series of separate basins, connected by rivers. These rivers, many of which rushed southwards to the developing Ægean, proved powerful enough to drain ultimately most of the lake basins, and left them as fertile plains covered by soft lake deposits. Other rivers flowed northwards to the Danube, and succeeded similarly in draining the lake basins on their courses. Only in those cases where the direction of drainage was towards the Adriatic, and the streams seem to have had less erosive power, were the lake basins able to persist. This accounts for the presence in Macedonia to-day of a group of lakes (Okhrida, Presba, etc.) whose outlet is towards the Adriatic, while elsewhere, as round Uskub, Monastir, and so forth, we have, instead of lake basins, plains whose surface is still sometimes swampy. Towards the borders of the Ægean, also, some of the original lake basins still persist.

Now, when the rivers formed which drained the inner basins of Macedonia, they were sometimes able to reoccupy their own earlier valleys, while sometimes they had to make new ones. Further, during the period when the separate lakes existed, each acted as base-level for the streams of its own immediate vicinity, and numerous captures and beheadings took place between the streams of ad-

jacent basins. For example, it seems fairly clear that the river which is now the Lower Ibar has drained off water which once flowed to the Vardar. Similarly, the Southern Morava, whose temporary base-level in the basin of Nish was lower than that of the Vardar in the basin of Uskub, has also carried off water which must once have flowed south to the Ægean.

Another point, which is suggested by the map, is that the Drin has apparently captured for the Adriatic water which once ran south towards the Ægean.

If we sum up the points which we have tried to bring out, we may say generally that in Bulgaria the tendency through recent geological time has been for the Ægean to predominate more and more as the basin which attracts most of the water which falls on the surface of the land. But in Macedonia, though to the south the same tendency is very marked, yet to the north, in association with the earth movements which helped to form the North Albanian gap, the conditions have been a little different. Earth movements here, apparently of recent date, have left great uncertainty in the watersheds, and, further, some water which once flowed towards the Ægean has been drawn off towards the Danube, and some which once similarly ran south, has, it would seem, been deflected to the Adriatic. The uncertainty of the watersheds has attracted Serbia southwards, has prevented her

from being permanently what she might have been, a state holding only lands which drained towards the Danube. Further, the captures affected by the Drin have helped to open a road towards the Adriatic, have helped, therefore, to turn Serbia's attention to that sea.

We have only considered the drainage of a very small part of Macedonia, but a very slight study of the map will show that everywhere the rivers show similar peculiarities. The result of these drainage anomalies is that the political question—Does Macedonia belong to the natural zone of expansion of Serbia, of Bulgaria, or of Greece?—is complicated by the geographical uncertainty of the drainage. The fact that there are uncompleted geographical adjustments in the region helps to account for the other fact that there are also uncompleted political ones.

NOTE.

Two papers by Professor Cvijić are of special importance in connection with the subject of this chapter, "Das Pliozäne Flusstal im Süden des Balkans" (*Abhandlungen d. K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vii., 1908), and "L'Ancien Lac Égéen" (*Annales de Géographie*, xx., 1911), but the rivers of the peninsula are discussed incidentally in most of the papers named at the end of the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAIN TRADE ROUTES: THEIR PAST HISTORY AND PROBABLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

The great Roman roads—Their direction and its significance—The Post-Roman decay of trade—Medieval routes and their relation to Roman lines—The trade of the State of Ragusa—Effect of the decay of the Turkish Empire—The struggles of the Slav Powers for free outlets—Serbia's access to the Adriatic.

We have in the previous chapters considered incidentally the question of lines of communication within the peninsula, chiefly in their connection with its geographical peculiarities, and have noted that political questions have not been without influence on the direction of the present lines. In this chapter, where the subject must be treated in more detail, it seems desirable to look at it from a historical standpoint.

Before doing this it may be well to re-emphasize the fact that, almost up to the present time, both the roads and the later railways have had as their main purpose the crossing of the peninsula, not its development from within. Its northern rhomboidal part has not, until within very recent times, shown much capacity for development from within outwards; its historical significance has been for

the most part that, since at least Roman times, it has lain athwart main world routes—routes whose direction has changed with changing times. Thus the surrounding Powers have driven across it—with the haughty rigidity of the Roman road-maker, or the more flexible skill of the modern engineer—ways which have enabled them to bring goods from afar, to transport their troops and munitions of war, to send their products to new and distant markets. As a general rule the products of the interior of the peninsula itself have seemed of as little importance to these surrounding Powers as have the desires or hopes of its inhabitants. Austria's determination to do all that in her lies to shut Serbia from the Adriatic, looked at philosophically, is but one expression of an age-long tradition, of the Roman contempt for a savage, forested, and mountainous tract, whose only significance was that it stood between the mistress of the world and regions more worthy of her attention. Let us endeavour to prove and illustrate these statements by a glance at the history of the lines of communication.

For the Greeks in the time of their splendour, the " continental " part of the peninsula, apart from its coasts, had but little significance. The interior was not easy of access; it was inhabited by various peoples, none of whom reached a high standard of civilization, and it had but little to offer. Greek influence tended to extend round the

coasts, and inwards from the coasts towards the more accessible basins and river valleys, but left the bulk of the interior untouched. In the fourth century B.C. Philip of Macedon extended his kingdom up the east coast to the Danube and built cities and constructed roads; but after the death of his son, Alexander the Great, the economic development of the region was more or less in abeyance till Macedonia became a Roman province in 168 B.C. One of the first acts of the conquerors was the construction of the famous Via Egnatia, of which we have already said something (p. 63).

Its course is shown generally on Fig. 6, and its purpose was to put old Rome in connection with what was to be in the distant future new Rome—that is, Byzantium. In other words, the Via Egnatia was the expression of Rome's *Drang nach Osten*, as the Belgrade-Constantinople railway, with its extension in the Bagdad line, may be regarded as the modern German expression of the same impelling motive, and the uncompleted Sarajevo-Mitrovitza-Salonika route, or the Belgrade-Nish-Salonika one, may be looked upon as visible indications of Austria's ambitions.

The route of which the Via Egnatia formed a part led from Rome to Brindisi, then by the short sea-crossing to Durazzo.* From Durazzo the road

* For our purpose here it seems unnecessary to give the ancient names of the towns mentioned. These may be found in a classical atlas.

FIG. 6.—THE CHIEF ROMAN ROADS OF THE PENINSULA.

Many of these have fallen into disuse; their direction should be compared with that of the existing and projected railways shown in Fig. 7.

entered the Shkumbi valley, whence it was easy to reach Struga at the head of Lake Okhrida. Hence two low saddles took it to Monastir, and from Monastir by Ostrovo to Salonika. From this point it ran mostly inland, beyond the coastal hills and coastal swamps, till brought close to the shore at Philippi (p. 54) and again in the vicinity of the present Dedeagatch. Hence it again ran inland till the shore of the Sea of Marmora was reached, where for a long time the Roman town of Perinthus, the present poor Turkish village of Eregli, was as important as Byzantium. The Via Egnatia was also continued on the Asiatic side into Armenia and Persia. Its primary object, we may repeat, was not to develop southern Macedonia; it was to put Rome in communication with the East. Its direction, virtually west to east, is of interest in this connection.

At a later date a branch road from the Via Egnatia was constructed, which put Rome in communication with her Lower Danube provinces. This road, apparently, started from Monastir, reached the Vardar, ascended its tributary, the Bregalnitza, and then attained Sofia by the Upper Struma. From Sofia it extended to the Danube by the Isker valley, and between the Isker and the Vid River there was apparently a great bridge over the Danube; there is now no bridge between Belgrade and Chernavoda (see p. 221).

A third road, which also put Rome in communica-

tion with the Danube provinces, is of great interest in connection with Serbia's schemes for a connection with the Adriatic, for it follows very closely the line of one of the Danube-Adriatic railway schemes.

This road started from the present Alessio at the mouth of the Drin, followed the Drin for a certain distance, left it to cross the plateau where the river takes a northward bend and runs through a canyon, reached Prizren, entered the Kosovo basin, crossed the Prepolatz saddle to attain the Toplitza valley, reached Nish, and then crossed to the Timok valley, which was followed to the Danube. It is of much interest to note that there were thus in Roman times two important roads between the Adriatic and the interior, neither of which is at the present time represented by a railway—neither, indeed, by a continuous carriage road.

A fourth important road, which had three branches, was that which put the mouth of the Narenta valley in communication with a town in the vicinity of the present Sarajevo, and from there branched out in various directions. The first part of this road followed a closely similar course to that of the present narrow-gauge railway from Metkovich to Sarajevo (p. 47); but while the modern railway only puts the coast in communication with the Save valley, the ancient road connected directly—(1) With the Save; (2) with Macedonia and so with Salonika; (3) with Belgrade,

and so with Nish, Sofia, Constantinople, and the East generally. As in the case of the roads already mentioned, this one is now in places represented only by the roughest of mule-tracks. The sketch-map indicates the diverging branches which started from Sarajevo. One went to Mitrovitz, on the Save, by a route not yet clearly traced. Another took an almost easterly direction, passed the present townships of Rogatitza, Vishegrad, Vardishte, crossed the present frontier of Bosnia, and made for the Western Morava, passing Ujitze, Tchatchak, Krushevatz, and so reached the eastern road system. The third branch passed through the present sandjak of Novibazar, by a route which now carries little, if any, through traffic, and so reached the Kosovo basin, whence it was directed by the present Uskub to Salonika.

The whole of these western roads emphasize the importance, even in Roman times, of the margins of the peninsula, as compared with its centre. Thus the now decayed towns in the vicinity of Byzantium were of great significance, because of their command of routes to the East, to regions whose products were sufficiently different from those of the west to stimulate an active trade. Similarly Salonika and its neighbourhood had the great value that they commanded the trade of the Ægean—that is, of a region where sea traffic was easy, where the inlets and bays allowed ready access to an interior of marked relief which yielded a

variety of products, from the purely Mediterranean fruits of the shore belt to the wood, honey, and other forest products of the higher ground. Finally, the plains of the Danube to the north, which showed marked contrasts to the Mediterranean region in climate, natural vegetation, and products represented a valuable colonial possession. The interior of the peninsula was chiefly of importance because it was the key to those lands beyond, and had necessarily, therefore, to be penetrated by broad military roads, with post-stations and watch-houses, stone bridges, forts, and towers at critical points, and generally all the Roman paraphernalia of empire.

The road which perhaps expressed at its fullest this military character is that of which we have not yet spoken, the road which, with its branches, has been traversed by so many armed hosts—by Roman legions, by Turks, by Crusaders, by triumphant Slavs, by peoples of many races and tongues —the great road from Belgrade to Constantinople, now functionally replaced by the Orient Express Railway.

In this case the actual line of the road is determined by somewhat complex geographical causes, and the route was utilized before the Romans constructed their great military way. Without going into great detail as to its course, we may note that, as is suggested by Fig. 2, the difficulty in traversing the peninsula in this direction is due

to the fact that to the west the Balkans come close up against the central Rhodope mass, and thus seem to block the road to the south-east. But the great Inter-Balkan valley is prolonged, in the basin of Sofia (Fig. 5), almost into the heart of the peninsula, and by utilizing its uppermost section, road and rail are able to insinuate themselves between the loftiest part of the Balkans and the loftiest part of the Rhodope. Since, however, the basin of Sofia drains neither to the Morava nor to the Maritza, but to the Danube by means of the Isker, the road has to cross two watersheds on its way southwards.

Its course is briefly as follows: It starts from Belgrade and crosses hilly country to reach the Morava valley some distance above the swampy lower course. It then follows this river to the basin of Nish, there ascends the Nishava tributary, passes the small basin of Pirot, and crosses at the Dragoman Pass (about 2,400 feet), the watershed between the Morava and the Isker. It then descends to the basin of Sofia, which is a fertile depression, standing some 1,800 feet above sea-level, surrounded by lofty hills, and occupying the hydrographic centre of the peninsula. From this depression routes, none of them very easy, radiate in all directions, and were it not for the fact that the total area of fertile land available here is only some 100 square miles, and that the climate is somewhat extreme, the region would seem to form

an admirable centre for a considerable state. The relative ease with which Macedonia can be reached from Sofia has much bearing upon Bulgaria's Macedonian ambitions.

Beyond the basin of Sofia the Vakarel Pass (about 2,450 feet) is crossed between the watersheds of the Isker and the Maritza, and, after passing the basin of Ichtiman, the road, but not the railway, passes at a height of 2,750 feet Trajan's Gate, a point where a narrow valley was spanned by a wall with towers, within which was a constantly watched gate. This point was for long the gate between east and west, and in its vicinity many battles were fought. It can, however, be skirted, and has now no particular importance; the railway avoids the gap by following a small tributary of the Maritza.

Once past this point, road and railway alike follow the Maritza River till it is necessary to quit the river in order to run nearly east to Constantinople. The most important point on this section is the pass in the vicinity of Hermanli, where an upland region separates the basin of Philippopolis from that of Adrianople (Fig. 5), this upland being the region of the frontier between Turkey and Bulgaria till 1912.

An important feature of the Bulgarian part of the road, from Trajan's Gate onwards, is the difficulty of communication southwards over the Rhodope with the Ægean seaboard. The Struma

valley (Fig. 11), despite the elevation of the land through which it flows for a part of its course, is the best marked natural line of communication here, a point which has also had much influence on Bulgaria's policy.

The Balkans, on account of their narrowness and their gentle northern slopes, offer fewer obstacles, especially towards their lower eastern end. This geographical fact was reflected in Roman times by the considerable number of roads which reached the Danube from the Maritza valley, as it is also reflected to-day by various railways and roads. None of these, however, is sufficiently important to demand detailed consideration.

Up to the middle of the fourth century of our era the Roman roads just described were lines along which a considerable amount of trade was carried on between east and west—a trade to which the peninsula contributed its metals, its hides and leather, its grain. Towards the latter half of that century there began that process of immigration of peoples from the north and east which disturbed all the old conditions, and led to the replacement, to a very large extent, of the original Romanized population by Slavs and Bulgars. The result was a diminution of trade which endured for long centuries. With the coming of the Crusaders and the evolution of considerable Slav states, a certain amount of trade developed between the plains of Central Europe and the peninsula, especially along

the Belgrade-Constantinople route, but this diminished with the arrival of the Turks. At the same time the Venetians extended their zone of commercial activity down the Adriatic to the Ægean, and the state of Ragusa began an energetic development of the western part of the peninsula, which for long withstood even the influence of Turkish domination.

The inhabitants of Ragusa exchanged the products of Italy—its silks, cloths, glasswares, the products of its arts and skill—for the raw materials of the peninsula, especially its iron, leather, hides, etc., no less than for the carpets, woven materials, and so forth, of the regions beyond, and the lines along which this trade was carried on are, no less than the earlier Roman roads, of considerable interest.

The more important of the medieval routes for our purpose are the following. The old Roman line which led from the mouth of the Narenta past Sarajevo to the Western Morava, and so to Nish and Constantinople, or north to Belgrade, again became important. The iron deposits of the Kopaonik Mountains (see Fig. 4) led to the construction of a well-marked trade route, which, like the Roman road already described, started from the mouth of the Drin, and crossed the Metoya depression to enter the Kosovo basin. This road not only permitted of the working of the iron-mines on an extensive scale, but also connected to the Western Morava

by the Ibar valley, as well as directly to Nish by the Prepolatz saddle. Perhaps the interest of this medieval trade route may be better appreciated when it is mentioned that a part of it—that leading from the coast to Prizren in the Metoya basin —was traversed by Dr. Kurt Hassert in 1897, who described the region then as " more African and more unknown than darkest Africa " itself. Hassert's description (" Streifzüge in Ober-Albanien," *Verhandlungen d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xxiv.) remains still the best account of a region which is very difficult of access, and the march of a Serbian army by this " Zeta road " to the Adriatic coast in the campaign of 1912 was regarded as a military feat of some importance. In other words, a road which once carried considerable quantities of a bulky commodity like iron, always difficult to convey, was at the end of the nineteenth century as unsafe and complicated for a lightly equipped scientific observer as the most remote parts of the African continent, and in the early part of the twentieth was in little better case.

Other routes by which the Ragusans carried on trade were along a part of the Via Egnatia from Durazzo to Okhrida, thence along the line of the Roman road, mentioned on p. 92, to Sofia, and so to the Danube, the shores of the Black Sea, and southwards to Constantinople. Finally, the Via Egnatia itself, from Durazzo to Salonika, was utilized.

This Ragusan trade survived for a long time the

entrance of the Turks into the peninsula in the latter half of the fourteenth century; but as the Turkish power began to wane after its first military successes, and as the incapacity of the conquerors to engage either in commerce or in agriculture showed its natural effect in the appearance of dry rot in their empire, the roads fell into disuse and trade dwindled.

We cannot follow here in detail the slow development of the independent states of the peninsula, or the gradually increasing interest shown in its possibilities of trade by the chief Powers of Europe, with their necessary results in the building of railways and the making of roads. It is, however, important to realize that in those parts which till recently were Turkish, means of communication have fallen into the most barbarous condition, as compared with what they were in Roman or medieval times. Further, as we have already hinted, Austria-Hungary's strategical interests have led to her opposing any course which would result in the connecting of the interior to the Adriatic coast, a course which might stimulate Italian interest in that shore-line. Without labouring the point, it may be sufficient to point out that a glance at Fig. 7 will show that at present no railway connects the Adriatic coast with the interior of the peninsula, although that interior has far more to offer to international trade than it had either in the days of the Romans or of the Ragusans, both

periods when good means of communication with this shore-line existed.

The map shows, further, that the independent states of the peninsula are fully aware of their needs in this direction, as is suggested by the number of railway schemes indicated. One important line, which, as we have explained above, has always been utilized when any trade has been carried on in the past with the interior, the direct connection between Sarajevo and the Western Morava—*i.e.*, between Sarajevo and Ujitze and Nish—is not represented among the projected routes. Its absence is due to political causes, for the desirability of linking up the Serbian and Austrian lines in this region has already been recognized by the Serbian Parliament. Should Serbia in the future acquire rights in Bosnia, this junction would no doubt be speedily effected.

The whole subject of natural lines of communication is so supremely important for the comprehension of Balkan problems that, at the risk of seeming wearisome, we may sum up present conditions and future desires in so far, at least, as Serbia and Bulgaria are concerned.

If we look once again at Fig. 6, we see that the Roman roads ran, broadly speaking, west to east, their object being to put Rome in communication with the East, from which she might draw supplies. Similarly, the existing main routes, as shown on Fig. 7, have chiefly for object the putting of

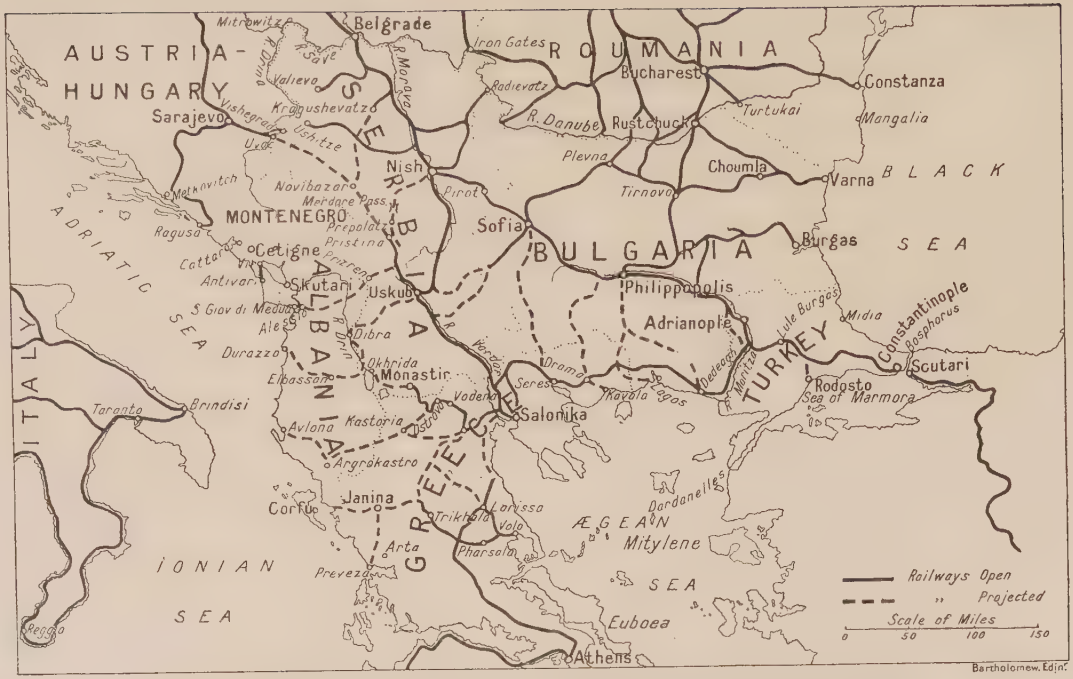

FIG. 7.—THE EXISTING RAILWAYS AND THE CHIEF RAILWAY SCHEMES.

the states of Central Europe into communication with the Ægean and with the East through Constantinople. Their object is to permit the manufacturing nations of Western Europe to send their surplus eastwards, to draw from the East their necessary raw materials, so that their general direction is north to south or south-east. Now, Serbia and Bulgaria alike yield chiefly grain and livestock, with its products. The northern boundary of both is formed by the grain and livestock-producing plains of the Save-Danube. Both want exits, especially to the Adriatic and to the Ægean, for these afford access to regions where their products are in demand. Further, like all states, they want to multiply doors for their products, Serbia having suffered acutely from economic dependence upon a single country. Bulgaria, with the double barrier of Bosphorus and Dardanelles between her and the open sea, wants a frontage on the Ægean, and she wants especially what she has just failed to obtain: such a frontage on the Ægean, such a part of the southern slope of the Rhodope mass, as will enable her to use the Struma valley—a valley which connects by an easy passage at its head with her capital Sofia, and which, with the port of Kavala, would give direct access to the Ægean from that capital.

Among Serbia's important markets for her livestock are Naples and Genoa. She wants, and wants intensely, to possess such an area in North

Albania as would give her command of the old Roman ways, as would enable her to open up the Kosovo basin and the Metoya depression, to increase her trade with Italy, to follow a line of development which would diminish risk of friction either with Greece or with Bulgaria. Unless the Romans and the medieval traders were both wrong, we can hardly doubt that she is right in thinking that the short stretch of the Adriatic coast which runs north to south is hers by right of geography, if not of strategy. This, at least, is meantime the main goal of her ambition, and, whatever be the exact route it may follow, the Danube-Adriatic railway, shown on the map as a line partially dotted between Raduyevatz on the Danube and San Giovanni di Medua, is for her an object of desire which seems worth enormous sacrifices.

NOTE.

THE account given in this chapter of the Roman and medieval roads is in part based upon a series of articles by Kreutzbruck v. Lilienfels, which appears in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* for September, October, and December, 1914, and this should be consulted for references and fuller details. The various routes suggested for the Danube-Adriatic railway are considered in an article, with sketch-maps, which appeared in *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales* for March 1, 1911, and a later article in the same journal (December 16, 1913) describes the railway schemes of the peninsula generally. Serbia's access to the Adriatic is discussed from the Serbian point of view by Professor Cvijić in an article in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* for December, 1912, and, briefly, from the Austrian standpoint by Dr. Norbert Krebs in the *Geographische Zeitschrift* for January 14, 1915.

CHAPTER VII

THE PEOPLES OF THE PENINSULA

1. The Albanians, and their Unsuccessful State.

The six native races—Religion and race in the Turkish Empire—The Albanians, their distribution and characters—Their position under the Turks—Their occupations and customs—The blood feuds and their results.

It may seem that we have already delayed too long in giving some account of the peoples of the peninsula, but they are in point of fact so diverse that some acquaintance with its geography is necessary before their distribution can be discussed with any profit.

Apart from the representatives of alien peoples, of which the Armenians and the Jews are the most numerous, there are in the peninsula no less than six separate races. These are the Albanians; the Vlachs, or nomad shepherds—usually regarded as at least nearly akin to the Roumanians; the Greeks; the Serbs; the Bulgars; and the Osmanli Turks. In some parts of the peninsula, notably in Macedonia, all six races are represented, but, for a reason to be considered later, there is a tendency, as the independent states extend their territory, for

the people of the newly acquired land to become more or less pure of race, or at least to appear pure.

One or two general points may be considered before we proceed to a description of these different races. In the first place, in marked contrast to Italy, the long-headed, dark-skinned Mediterranean race is only represented in the peninsula to an inconsiderable extent. In Italy itself, while this Mediterranean man predominates to the south, round-headed Alpine man, in his darker form, is increasingly evident towards the north. A similar replacement seems to have taken place more thoroughly, and at an earlier date, in the Balkan region. Before the Greeks reached their prime, there seems to have been a large influx of Alpine men into their lands, and some geographers have sought an explanation of their extraordinary mental development in this mingling of races. However this may be, there is at least a very strong Alpine element in the modern Greeks. The Albanians are often stated to represent an almost pure Alpine strain, but there is much variety of skull, form, and of colouring among them, and there is probably a considerable amount of racial mixture. Incidentally it may be noted that Alpine man is at least frequently a pastoralist. The Slavs, Bulgars, and Turks are also round-headed, but come of different stocks from the Alpine race of Central Europe. All are believed to have in them Asiatic blood, though there is no certainty in regard to this. So much

racial mingling has gone on in the peninsula that it appears highly probable that the third great race of Western Europe—the Nordic—is also represented here. Such a statement has, indeed, been made in regard to the Greeks, the Bulgars, and even the Turks.

A second general point of much importance is that, while it is relatively easy to make general statements about the six racial types, yet in actual fact the races are often so mingled that the discrimination of individuals is a matter of the greatest difficulty, and, further, the question of race is so inextricably mixed with political and racial problems that the difficulty of finding a criterion of race is almost insoluble. Is it bodily form, or speech, or religious sympathies, or political tendencies, or local customs, or traditions, which make race? Whatever criterion is adopted, the practical complications remain the same. The Bosnian is by most tests a Serb of pure blood; yet if he be a Moslem, he unhesitatingly describes himself as a Turk. A recent author speaks of one Markovié who, in about 1850, dwelt in Macedonia, and was the master of a Serbian school. His son, another nationality being then in the ascendant, some forty years later was a Bulgarian priest, his name having become Markof; and unless the fortunes of war in the meantime change, there seems much probability that the grandson will re-acquire the Serbian form of the family name, and become a patriotic

Serb. Many other examples of such conditions might be given; it is perhaps enough to say meantime that the peasants of the peninsula have wanted for the most part to be free from the Turkish yoke—free from any foreign yoke—and that, in Macedonia especially, which has suffered longest, they have shown no insuperable objection in the past to adopting any nationality which seemed to promise freedom and undisturbed possession of the much-desired plot of land.

It must be realized, moreover, that the racial question must always be a hotly disputed one in lands under Turkish rule, for the very simple reason that the theocratic state, which permits of no incorporation without conversion, can never assimilate subject races, and the existence of the individual is just tolerable, or quite intolerable, according to the strength of the communion to which he belongs. The Turkish State recognizes no races, only Churches, so that while the Bulgar was under the ecclesiastical rule of the Greek Patriarch he was officially a " Greek." But there is a real distinction of custom, of tradition, of mode of life, as well as of race, between the typical Bulgar, a " dour " farmer, and the typical Greek, a nimble-witted trader; and thus, in order to satisfy his national aspirations, the Bulgar had first of all to free himself ecclesiastically from the patriarch of Constantinople.

We cannot do more here than hint in this quite

general fashion at the way in which religion has complicated politics and racial rivalry in the peninsula, but especially in unhappy Macedonia, which has suffered almost as much from the rival states around her as from the Turks themselves. For it has always been an integral part of Turkey's policy at once to exclude conquered races from her own full citizenship, and to arrange matters so that combination among them is rendered impossible by internal rivalries. Generally, we may say that, whatever the views of anthropologist or geographer, to the Turk there are only two races, Turks and others. By becoming a Moslem, any one of the " others " may become a " Turk," and thereby enjoy most of the advantages of the dominant race, including the power to oppress non-Turks. In those lands which remained in name Turkish till 1912, the non-Turks were wooed in turn, prior to the war, by Greek, by Serb, by Bulgar, even by Roumanian, and their " race " was a little apt to vary with the political fortunes of the rival claimants for their sympathies.

Once again, in their struggle for freedom and for internal stability, the various races have had, as we all know, the keen sympathies of outsiders, which has often expressed itself as an eager partisanship of one race as against another—partisanship which tends to colour even " scientific " accounts of the different nationalities. This is a point which requires to be taken into account in reading books

and papers devoted to the peninsula. Till within the last few years the Bulgars and the Turks respectively were in the fullest enjoyment of Western patronage; at present the Serbs seem likely to suffer almost as much from unreasoning idealization as they did formerly from undeserved contempt.

With these preliminary statements in mind we may begin our study of the individual races with the Albanian, who, as already mentioned, is often stated to be of pure Alpine stock, and is believed to be the descendant of very early, if not original, inhabitants of the land. According to Serb authorities, however, the present Albanian has a considerable admixture of Slav blood.

The home of the living Albanians is, broadly speaking, the upland and mountain tract behind that north-to-south trending portion of the western coast of which we have already spoken so much. They do not inhabit the actual coast, which is used chiefly for winter pasturage for their flocks. Their distribution, like that of so many peoples in disturbed parts of the peninsula, varies with the political conditions. Before the rise of the Young Turk party in 1908, the Albanians were the spoilt children of the Turks, and then tended to extend their territory eastwards at the expense of populations formerly Serb. When the Young Turks took in hand the task of civilizing the Albanians by force, and their land became in consequence the

seat of annual disturbances, they tended to withdraw from Turkish territory, even entering Montenegro, with whose people they had earlier been engaged in constant feuds. Recent events seem to suggest that they now desire to take advantage of Serbia's absorption to dominate more and more land which since 1913 has been politically Serbian.

Politically, the condition of the Albanians has always been somewhat anomalous. Like the Montenegrins, and for much the same reason—the inaccessible nature of their land—they were never subjugated by the Turks. But except for the short-lived experiment of an independent Albania, which was not their doing, unlike the Montenegrins they have not been completely free. A certain number, especially the larger landowners, accepted Moslemism, and thus became entitled to serve in the Turkish Army; they hold administrative posts, and generally enjoy the privileges of the dominant race. Others are Orthodox, and still others are Roman Catholics. All, however, enjoyed until the rise of the Young Turk party a very considerable measure of autonomy, notably in exemption from excessive taxation. For this the causes were multiple. No doubt, in the first place, it is not very easy to tax a mountain-shepherd, more especially when he has both the power and the will to defend himself. But there is more in it than this. We have seen in the last chapter that the stretch of coast within which the Albanians

live is one by which trade with the west, and especially with Italy, can be, and has been in the past, carried on with relative ease. There was thus always here a possible line of entrance into the Turkish Empire. The Albanians, a people, as we shall see, whose social polity is of the most primitive type, formed an excellent and most resistant plug in the gap, a defence against the entrance of Western civilization whose value to the Turk cannot be overestimated. They did not want the actual coast; they had no use for roads; their virtues and their vices alike are those of a period when exchange is not, and the necessity for free communication does not present itself. In brief, they formed a natural western fortification of the Turkish Empire, obtained cheaply at the expense of the loss of some taxation.

But such a defence could not, of course, persist in modern times against an energetic attack either from within or without. Those qualities in the Albanians which are ascribed to chivalry by their admirers, and to savagery by their enemies, must necessarily disappear when contact with the modern world takes place. When the knights of chivalry take to commerce, their interests naturally turn away from blood feuds, and they learn that there are more permanently efficient weapons in the struggle for existence than a Martini. The Albanians have persisted, and have persisted at their present level, in large part owing to the rivalries of Austria

and Italy, who have felt, as Britain felt at an earlier stage in regard to the other coast of the peninsula, that to keep Turkey alive was at least to postpone an inevitable but difficult settlement on the Adriatic coast. Austria does not want the Serbs on the coast here because of possible Serb ambitions farther north, and their risks; Italy will not have Austria here; Austria will not permit Italy to occupy any part of the coast. Obviously, then, it was better to keep the Turk, with a semi-independent Albania, or, if the Turk had to go, to erect an independent Albania. The second alternative presents, however, the complication that it is exceedingly difficult to make a nation out of a people whose chief amusement is to shoot their own brethren, members of rival clans, at sight. The game, which is conducted according to very strict rules, is undoubtedly one of a most thrilling nature —far superior, one would imagine, to fox-hunting in excitement; but it scarcely conduces either to social stability or to social development, and one can hardly blame the Serbs for feeling that it is unreasonable that they should be shut out from the Adriatic in order to provide the Albanians with extensive man-hunting coverts. There is, further, no evidence that the Albanians want to be a nation, while one would suppose that with judicious treatment they might well, like the Highlanders of Scotland, become useful elements in another nation.

The Albanians are mostly tall, powerful men, with black, brown, or even fair hair, of much physical strength and great courage, making excellent soldiers, and, when they have received any educational advantages, showing considerable intellectual capacity. Fischer, writing in 1893, estimated their numbers at about one and a half millions, of whom some 200,000 were in Greece, and nearly 100,000 in Italy. In 1913 the number in independent Albania was estimated at about 1,000,000, but all such figures are a little suspect.

The Albanians are regarded as forming three groups. In Epirus, where they are in a strong minority, they are largely Hellenized, owing to contact with the Greek majority. Here many are Moslems, others Orthodox Christians. The second group includes the clans living south of the Shkumbi valley, but north of Argyrokastro, clans whose members are predominantly Moslems. The northern group includes Moslems, Roman Catholics, with some Orthodox, living between the Shkumbi valley and the Montenegrin frontier, and extending inwards through the whole of the Metoya region to the Kosovo basin, and, intermixed with Serbs, even beyond. These northern tribes, in harmony with the isolated nature of the land which they occupy, are the least touched by modern civilization. They live in clans, which often carry on blood feuds with one another, and their dialect is so different from that of the Southern Albanians

that mutual comprehension is said to be impossible.

It is these northern tribes which are of the most general importance for our purpose, for it is they who occupy the region across which Serbia desires to advance to the Adriatic. We shall therefore consider them in a little detail. It must, however, be realized that, while the following statements are based upon observations made by travellers in the interior, and apply to the mass of the people, cultivated Albanians, when Moslem, have hitherto taken an active part in Turkish administration, and have shown great capacity and astuteness. Orthodox Albanians have similarly taken an active part in Greek life, and at the time of the erection of an independent Albania there was a distinct attempt on the part of the intellectuals to arouse a national life. The difficulties, however, seem to be enormous, in view of the isolation of the separate clans, their traditional enmities, and the religious animosities due to the multiplication of creeds. These difficulties have been increased by the fact that, till the rise of the Young Turk régime, the Moslem Albanians showed a considerable attachment to Turkish rule, while Russia extended her patronage to the Orthodox groups, and Austria and Italy alike sought to influence the Catholics. The influence of Rome has, indeed, been considerable, owing to the religious tie, strengthened in all possible ways.

The Albanians are generally engaged in the pastoral industry, sheep and goats, as was to be expected under the physical and economic conditions, predominating. A prosperous man may possess some 500 animals, a very rich one some 1,500. Agriculture occupies the second rank, maize, as so generally in the peninsula, being the chief crop, with barley and the vine where this is possible. The yield of the flocks, especially wool and hides, together with forest products, are exchanged for the necessities which cannot be manufactured at home, but the general insecurity and the difficulty of communication makes trade insignificant, and the demands of the people are small. The town-dwellers soon become skilful artisans, being specially noted for their metal-work.

As there is little government, and justice is confined to the rough method of the blood feud, the family tie is necessarily strong, and the family—in the patriarchal sense—occupies a fortified dwelling, perpetually prepared for a siege.

Hassert (1897) gives the following account of conditions in the villages of the southern slopes of the North Albanian Alps: " Not even within the houses is life secure, and therefore the dwelling-places are strongly built of stone, and provided with loopholes instead of windows. In many villages there are specially strong blockhouses, fortified and spotted with loopholes, which the men use as common sleeping-rooms, and which

serve as fortresses in case of attack. The blood feuds affect the whole life deeply in that not only single families, but whole villages and clans live in a constant vendetta. For this reason intercourse is almost null, the cultivation of the land is limited to the immediate neighbourhood of the hamlets, and a state of war between the different communes is the rule. For greater security many clans or groups sometimes unite for a time in a confederation, and strike with one another the so-called 'blood-brotherhood,' or *bessa*. If one member of such a confederation is murdered, the whole body is answerable, and the life of any chance member of the enemy group must atone. . . . Where there is a specially bitter feud, it is held to be a matter of honour to kill a guest, for the death of such an one brings the obligation of a double revenge upon the group under whose protection the murdered man was."

Oestreich, who travelled in the region a little farther east a few years later, gives a similar description of the region north of Diakova: "The village houses are strong, windowless, stone buildings. Riding through such a village as that of Detchan, for example, gives one a peculiar sensation. At both sides stands a row of staring stone forts, built of strong red and grey rough stone, topped only by a high chimney or a watch-tower. Towards the street are loopholes; towards the court, which is often protected by a stone wall, a wooden gallery

is erected, in which provisions, maize, straw, faggots, are piled up, everything being in constant readiness for a siege. In the village is no sign of life, no children playing or shouting. The peasant's boy who drives the cart to the fields, the peasant himself as he works—both have a loaded Martini hanging over their backs."

Such a condition, tragic enough, though readers of Prosper Mérimée's *Colomba* will see a strong resemblance to those existing in the Corsica of his novel, could not persist without some alleviations. All travellers note the great faithfulness of the Albanians to their plighted word, their rigid honesty towards those whom they serve—an honesty not regarded as incompatible with the practice of brigandage when they are not bound by their code of honour. Their attitude towards women also is of extreme interest. By most observers, especially those who have not come to very close quarters with the remoter tribes, it is put down to chivalry, and is held to give the Albanians a claim to be regarded as the natural successors of the medieval knights. Other less sympathetic observers have regarded the position of women among them as extremely low, and have put down the exclusion of the women from the blood feuds as a proof of the contempt of their fathers and brothers for them—a suggestion that they are unworthy of participation in a sacred rite. The facts, at least, are simple. The women are

excluded from the scope of the vendetta, and, further, a man in the company of a woman is safe from attack by his blood enemies—a fact which has been taken advantage of by astute travellers. One result is that most of what trade exists is carried on by the women, who can travel in safety, alone or accompanied by men, through the lands of enemy clans. Without stopping to define chivalry, we may note that, if it is true, as Hassert asserts, that in North Albania 25 per cent. of the annual deaths are due to vendettas, the exclusion of the women is a racial necessity. Further, as maize, straw, and wood can hardly represent, even for a frugal Albanian, the whole of the necessities of life, some sort of convention of this kind is obviously necessary to permit of the necessary intercourse being carried on.

A similar trend of social policy is observable in the setting aside of certain paths as under " a truce of God." The truce, however, includes the path only, like the rights of way through some private parks in this country, and Hassert has a curious tale of four men who injudiciously went to sleep beside a well which lay a little off a " peace path " in an enemy country, and were promptly shot out of hand. He was himself in the immediate neighbourhood, and heard all day long the ceremonial wailing for the dead—" and when the men had wailed themselves hoarse, then the women took up the alternate cry." But the traveller was too

much concerned with his personal safety to appreciate the romance of this wild scene, with its reminiscences of man's early days on the earth, and adds curtly that it was more like the bellowing of wild beasts than the sound of human weeping. It would take, perhaps, a Mérimée to interpret for us the meaning of that mourning ritual, to depict some Albanian Colomba spurring by its means her menfolk to a bloody revenge.

On this note of tragedy we may well leave the Albanians, adding only Oestreich's serious-minded comment on his own journey: " It is difficult for anyone who has not travelled in this neighbourhood to realize the strangeness of the conditions experienced in journeying through it. Yet, so far as scenery goes, it is everywhere attractive, for the land is blooming, rich, and well timbered." Had he been acquainted with the works of Bishop Heber, we feel that a quotation would have inevitably followed.

NOTE.

THERE is a very full treatment of the Albanian question in Brailsford's *Macedonia* (1906), but this, of course, does not take into account the great political changes which have occurred since, and the geographical aspect of the problems involved is scarcely considered. Recent political changes in Albania and elsewhere are discussed in Gibbons's *The New Map of Europe* (1914). Siebertz, *Albanien und die Albanesen* (1912) should be consulted, and there are a variety of more general works, such as those by Peacock, Miss Durham, and so on, from which the characters of the different tribes may be gathered. A full treatment of the general question of the

races of the peninsula, with a map, will be found in a series of articles by Professor Cvijié, in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* for 1913. The subject is there considered from the Serbian standpoint, and the distribution of the different peoples is discussed in much detail. See also the same author's "Remarques sur l'Ethnographie de la Macédoine" in *Annales de Géographie*, xv. (1906).

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEOPLES OF THE PENINSULA (*continued*)

2. The Independent States and their Inhabitants.

The Vlach nomads, their customs and their fate—The Greek and his place in the life of the Peninsula—Race and religion—The coming of the Slavs, Bulgars, and finally of the Turk—The present population of Macedonia—Contrast between the populations of the independent states before and after the 1912-13 wars—The Turk in the Peninsula.

In the preceding chapter we did not stop to consider the question whether or not the present Albanians can be legitimately regarded as the lineal descendants of the ancient Illyrians. The subject is one which has led to a considerable expenditure of ink, but it does not directly concern us here. It is sufficient to recognize that, however mingled be the blood of the existing Albanians, they have at least a connection with very early inhabitants of the peninsula. Two other races are in similar case, though, again, the purity or otherwise of the strain has been the subject of fierce discussion. These two are the Greeks and the Vlachs, also called Wallachians, Roumanians, gipsies, and other names in addition. The latter

are a people of considerable interest from many points of view, and though their political importance is small, they seem worthy of a little consideration because of the light which their history throws upon that of the races within the peninsula.

Typically, they are—or were—nomad shepherds, having temporary homes both in the mountains, where they pass the warmer period, and in the plains, coastal or interior, where they spend the winter. While, however, the lowland pastures, and thus the lowland dwellings, are necessarily scattered, communal life is possible on the heights, so that the mountain-village is reckoned as the true home. Their characteristic domestic animal is the sheep, but they also rear horses and donkeys. Their summer pasturages are—or were—to be found in all the Central Upland region, from the Stara Planina on the frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria southwards almost to the extremity of Greece, while the Pindus Range in the west has also many of these interesting shepherds. In winter they frequent the inner plains of Thessaly, and also those round the shores of the Ionian and Ægean Seas, as well as extending inland along the Vardar valley into the inner plains of Southern Macedonia, and even into Southern Albania, though the pastoral habits of the Albanians themselves tend to exclude the nomads from their lands. The Vlachs which keep this primitive nomadism own

no mountain-pastures of their own, and the increasing rents they have to pay for grazing rights as the uplands become more and more utilized by the independent states are a great obstacle to their prosperity. Further, while, in the days when the land was largely Turkish, the nomads were free to wander from crest to crest, the development of the separate states, each closed from its neighbour by a customs barrier, is a very effective check to such free movement. The result is that they tend more and more to lose their characteristic nomadism, and settle down in villages in the lowlands, where they take to the cultivation of the ground, or become handicraftsmen, and thus are lost among the surrounding populations. Many also emigrate.

In addition to the rearing of sheep, these Vlachs for long centuries carried on another occupation, which grew naturally out of their chief one. This was the carrying on of trade—trade which started with the peddling of domestic products, such as woven materials from the fleeces of their flocks, easily carried by their transport animals, and expanded, as is easy with a wandering folk, until the Vlach merchants were known far into Central Europe. But their primitive form of commerce naturally diminished with modern conditions, with the coming of roads and railways, and the linking of the peninsula to the rest of Europe.

The Vlach nomads have recently been the subject of an exhaustive study by two Englishmen,

whose book (Wace and Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 1914) may be consulted for details, especially in regard to their speech, which is described as "worn-down Latin." Their connection with the present Roumanians of Roumania is one of those delicate racial and political questions of which the peninsula affords so many examples. It is sufficient to say that, while it has given Roumania an excuse for interesting herself in Macedonian affairs, Roumanian propagandist activities have not had great success among the Vlachs, partly, no doubt, because of the distance between Roumania proper and the Vlach settlements of Greece and of Macedonia.

Cvijić, in the article on the ethnography of the peninsula, already mentioned (p. 122), gives a few lines of description of parties which he encountered in 1910, in the act of migrating from the plain round Salonika towards the mountains at the time of St. George's Day, lines which may be quoted here: "Each flock," he says, "contained some thousands of sheep, and the flocks were accompanied by the shepherds, or *ćajas*, who may be recognized by their peculiar, very long staves, whose ends are beautifully coiled and carved. Such staves are carried by all the shepherds of the Balkan Peninsula. The shepherds had with them their sheep-dogs, and behind the flocks appeared an entire movable and packed-up Vlach village. The men and women ride on horses and asses; the children

are placed in side-baskets, forming a kind of pannier; and, in addition, every horse carries carpets, blankets, coverlets, cushions, then planks and all sorts of timber, and the household utensils. Towards evening the tents were set up by the wayside, and here all the people passed the night. During my journey I encountered in a single day, in some fifteen to twenty flocks, a total of 50,000 to 60,000 sheep."

The Vlachs of late years have been undergoing a marked reduction in numbers, less, it would seem, because they are dying out than because, with the political evolution of the peninsula, the place which they once occupied—socially and physically—ceases to be available, and they merge into the other peoples. Thus, while their number at the beginning of the nineteenth century was estimated at half a million, it had dropped to approximately 150,000 or 160,000 in 1913. Many have become Hellenized, and thus lost in the Greek state, others have become Serbs or Bulgars.

It is obvious from the description which has been given that the Vlachs represented a mode of eluding the grip of the Turk, socially and politically, as the Albanian eluded him physically in his remote mountain-fastnesses. Both peoples seem destined to enrich the life of the more highly organized states into whose general population they tend to merge. There is little evidence that either was ever capable of founding a stable independent state.

Of the three peoples in the peninsula who have in their veins blood belonging to very early inhabitants of the area, there remain for consideration the Greeks, the only one of the three which has succeeded in founding a stable independent state, based upon a definite social polity.

If the question whether the present Albanian is or is not an Illyrian has given rise to much discussion, that of the relation of the existing Greek to the inhabitants of their land in classical times has given rise to even more. Again, however, we may leave the question aside as not our concern, noting only that there is certainly a considerable mixture of races among the inhabitants of present Greece. Geographically, however, the important point is that they have assimilated a large Slav element without loss of their own national characters, for the climate, topography, and productions of their land seem unsuited to the Slav type. They have also overthrown the Turk, not by eluding him, but by bold competition in spheres where his qualities are of no avail. If the Slav has overcome the Turk owing to his land hunger, his passion for cultivation, his willingness to plough once again land which has been soaked in the blood of his brothers, trodden beneath contending armies, the Greek has conquered by his mastery of the sea, by his capacity as trader, by his alertness, by his active participation in the affairs of the world outside the sea-fretted mountainous

tract which is his home. If the union of the other Balkan States is at least conceivable, however far it be from practical politics at present, it is difficult, on the other hand, to see where common ground could ever be found between the farmers and shepherds of the north and centre, and the sailors, traders, and gardener-peasants of the south. Further, if from one point of view we may say that the existence in the south of a people with commercial and trading instincts, town-dwellers in desire if not always in fact, whose agricultural lands produce chiefly luxuries, and who must therefore import most of their cereals and their meat—if the existence of such a people forms a fitting pendant to the agricultural peoples farther north, who have chiefly these commodities to sell, yet, on the other hand, the tendency of the Greeks to dwell in the coastal towns has in it a danger to the peace of the region. Till the delicate readjustments of boundaries rendered necessary by the ousting of the Turk are complete, and the process will probably be long, there must always be risk of conflict between the northern agricultural peoples seeking outlets and the sea-traders of the south. The division of territory between Bulgar and Greek especially—for we cannot suppose that the present division will stand—will require careful handling.

In their struggles to become a nation, the Greeks have enjoyed two great advantages as compared alike with Albanians and with Vlachs, advantages

of which they have made the fullest use. In the first place, in marked contrast to both of these, who have virtually no written language and no native literature, the Greeks have a glorious literary tradition, and a rich language, with a single alphabet. There are several Albanian alphabets. Further, their commercial relations make their language of importance outside the limits of their own race, a marked contrast to the Albanians, among whom the dialect of the northern groups does not even suffice for communication with the southern ones, and is useless for wider purposes. Thus the Greek schools and educational institutions have been of great importance as instruments of Hellenization.

Second, the fact that, till the Bulgarian schism of 1873, the Christians of Turkey were placed under the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, so that to the Turkish authorities an Orthodox Bulgar was a "Greek," made the Church also a powerful Hellenizing agent. Its power was, indeed, recognized by the Bulgarians when they separated themselves off under their own Exarch, despite the excommunication of the Mother Church. The Albanians were so remote from Turkish influence that the need for enrolling themselves in a single recognized ecclesiastical organization did not present itself, as it did to the Christian populations near Constantinople. This has been an obstacle to the development of the sentiment of nationality among

them. The Orthodox Albanian tribes have naturally tended to become Hellenized, or even Slavicized; the Moslems look, or did look, towards Turkey; the Roman Catholics' interests lie beyond the limits of the peninsula; and thus religion, a centralizing force in the case of Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars alike, has tended towards racial disintegration in the case of the Albanians. On the other hand, it may be said that they have been saved in consequence from the fearful bitterness, with its necessary results in an imperfectly civilized land, which has torn unhappy Macedonia, owing to the unscrupulous use of Church and school by the different races as agents in the process of nation-making.

The distribution of the Greeks is interesting. They tend, broadly speaking, to remain within the zone of Mediterranean climate and products, and where they extend beyond that belt it is chiefly as coast-dwellers. Within the Greece of the period before the 1912 war, the population was almost purely Greek, with the exception of Vlach islets towards the north, especially in the Pindus region of the north-west. But this uniformity, it seems fairly certain, was due less to purity of race than to that power of Hellenization of which we have spoken. The conditions in Greece, physical and social, left but little room for typical Turk or Slav, who would find themselves as *depaysé* as a cockney in Aberdeenshire. To the north-west of the old boundary, in Epirus, in land which is now Greek,

Greeks occur increasingly intermixed with Albanians as one travels northwards. The new lands include also a considerable number of Vlachs, many of whom are socially bound to Greece by their habit of wintering on the outskirts of the plains of Thessaly.

To the north and north-east of the old frontier Greeks occur mingled with many Turks, and in the Salonika region with Bulgars. Travelling eastwards into East Macedonia and Thrace, we find Greeks again mingled with Turks and Bulgars; while still farther east, along the western shore of the Black Sea, the Greeks form a coastal population, more or less shutting off the Bulgars from the sea. Intermixed with Bulgars, they occur as far north as Varna and beyond. Much of the land which became Greek in 1913 thus contained non-Hellenized peoples, especially Turks and Bulgars. As the assimilation of the Turk is neither possible nor, from the Greek point of view, desirable, considerable emigration is going on here. To some extent there is an interchange between Greeks in Asia Minor, who are returning to the new Greek lands, and Thracian Turks, who are taking their places in the vacated lands. All such adjustments, however, must be interrupted by the war, and by the present uncertainty as to the fate of the Turkish Empire.

Again, the feeling between the Bulgars and the Greeks is at present so bitter, and the prospect of

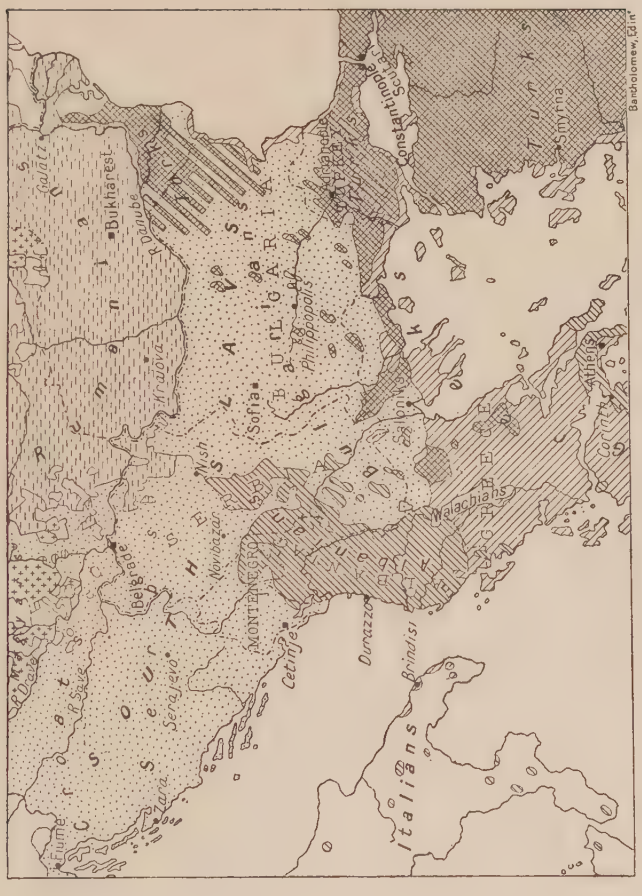

FIG. 8.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLES OF THE PENINSULA.

the Hellenization of the Macedonian Bulgars so small, that emigration is likely to continue for some time in all the area which has altered political allegiance lately.

Such a process of emigration, we may note, has almost always occurred when lands which were Turkish changed hands. The Turk, as we have seen, can neither assimilate without conversion, nor can he be assimilated. When, therefore, in any region a change of ownership means the loss of the dominant position to which he has been accustomed, he usually disposes of his property, and follows the Crescent in its retreat. But the bitterness of religious strife among the Christians themselves, even though the contrast between the religion of those who recognize the authority of the Greek Patriarch, those under the Bulgarian Exarch, and those belonging to the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church, is political rather than religious, this bitterness is such that lands which come under the independent states show the same tendency to " purify " themselves of non-national elements. In other words, in regions such as Macedonia, where races are inextricably mixed, religious creed tends to take the place of nationality as a unifying—and also as a repelling—element.

Within the lands which in 1913 were included in Greece there is a population of under 4,400,000, but not all of these, as we have seen, are Greeks; and on the other hand, many—perhaps an equal number—

live outside their motherland, notably in Asia Minor, for, despite their intense patriotism, they emigrate freely.

Their distinguishing characters may be gathered from what has been already said. One may note, in addition, their frugality, a not uncommon feature of Mediterranean peoples, for the land is not adapted for cereal-growing or cattle-raising on the large scale, while at the same time the olive oil taken with salads, etc., seems to be more satisfying than the starchy foods of the more northern peoples, and the wine which is drunk helps to diminish the desire for quantities of food. Women occupy a somewhat low position, but family life is very pure. Though there are many illiterates in the country districts, yet the Greek's desire for education is very marked. This is partly, as we have already seen, because the value of the school in national life is thoroughly understood, but is also due to the fact that the Greeks leave their native land with much readiness in pursuit of openings which its relative poverty fails to yield. Thus instruction is recognized as a powerful weapon in the struggle for existence. The Greek is usually regarded as both acute and subtle, and, in addition to ejecting the Turk from Greece, has been successful in obtaining both numerical and commercial importance in lands which remain Turkish. Thus he is much in evidence at Constantinople. The trade of Turkey is, indeed, very largely in the hands of the

Greeks. The immediate problem before the Greeks is the question whether they can assimilate the new elements in their population, or whether extensive emigration will result from their ownership.

The Greeks are believed to have persisted with but little modification through the period of Roman domination of the peninsula; the Albanians and Vlachs are possibly connected with Romanized members of other early races there; but the three remaining peoples are immigrants of various dates. The Serbs are the results of the Slav invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. The Bulgars came in the seventh century, are supposed to be of Finnish origin, and while, from a military standpoint, they conquered the Slavs in the vicinity of the Balkan range, socially they were greatly influenced by them, adopting a Slav language and some Slav customs, though they retained certain non-Slav characters. Thus they are often described as "Slavicized." Finally, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Turks arrived in Europe from Asia, and conquered the various peoples of the peninsula, owing to their military genius. But since the period of their glory they have been undergoing a slow process of defeat, caused by their own incapacity to engage with success in any occupations save those of arms and administration, and by their inability to absorb either the traders or the farmers of the land. The process of decay has been repeatedly checked by military prowess, their

armies having been stiffened by the presence in them of Moslems who are only Turks in name; but it has been continuous, none the less. The student of the evolution of human society may well find comfort in the thought that not all the Turkish virtues, not all their military strength, have saved them from the slow sapping of vitality, due to their divorce alike from the actual tilling of the land, and from trade and commerce. Their history suggests that the modern world is unsuited to the persistence of a people who are by instinct soldiers and little more, and that such a people cannot be saved even by Krupp guns and German military discipline.

It is well to make clear that to the geographer the expulsion of the Turk from the peninsula can be justified on the ground that he has failed to utilize the land which he has held so long, and on this ground alone. He has been within the peninsula a parasite, chiefly upon the ploughing peasant, and the effect has been to implant in the mind of that peasant a passion for agriculture, for the undisturbed possession of a patch of freehold, which is probably as strong here as it has ever been in the world. To say, as is sometimes said, that Slav and Bulgar are intruders no less than the Turk —that the land "ought" to belong to the descendants of the original inhabitants—is to attempt to make abstractions overrule realities. The Vlach nomad is extraordinarily interesting; the Albanian

is picturesque in the extreme, in spite of his preference for a rifle rather than a shirt, on which Hassert dwells so reproachfully; the Turk has many virtues. All these facts may be granted. But human existence upon this earth depends ultimately upon the man with the plough; the land belongs to the ploughing peoples, for only they can utilize it. We need not in point of fact stop to consider any questions of abstract " oughtness " in connection with Serb and Bulgar's tenure of their land, for, short of wholesale extermination, it is doubtful if they could be torn from their crofts, and however diplomats may draw boundaries, there is in the peasant farmer a force which in the long-run sweeps away considerations of policy, of historical interest, of picturesqueness, of martial virtues. He is as difficult to exterminate as he is to conquer, and has some of the productiveness of the earth he tills, of the vitality of the plant which grows from seedling to harvest, despite all the perils which threaten it.

Essentially and fundamentally, Serb and Bulgar alike are farmers working their own, mostly small, crofts. There are a considerable number of differences between the two—differences in character, in tradition, in social polity, and so forth—but for our immediate purpose they may be regarded as generally similar. The Bulgar carries on some industries, notably textile, and with his free seaboard and free access to the Danube, commerce is

easier for him than for the Serb. Only lately completely freed from Turkish domination, the liberation of his land has not proceeded so far as in Serbia, but, on the other hand, he is more energetic, a harder worker, more easily influenced by Western ideas. The Serb is gayer in disposition, disposed to take life more lightly, more attractive, but less efficient. One might go on with a whole catalogue of virtues and vices ascribed to the two peoples by various observers, but these are not of very great significance. The two, it may be noted, meet in an upland, as do the English and the Scotch, and while the typical Bulgar differs from the typical Serb much as the Aberdeen man differs from the Cockney, yet it seems fairly certain that between the two extremes there are gradations, groups who have the characters of both races in a modified degree. Meantime the political hatred between the two peoples is intense, but it has been stated by those who followed the course of the Balkan Wars that the antagonism is far greater between educated members of the two nations than between the peasants. One would fain hope that in the perhaps distant future they may come together, in however loose a bond.

The Serbs occupy Serbia proper, where there is little racial intermixture of any kind, save a considerable Roumanian element on the frontier of Roumania, and in religion they are predominantly Serbian Orthodox. They also occupy Montenegro,

where the people are again of the Orthodox creed, and form the majority of the population in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia. In the first two, however, a considerable number are Moslems, while Catholic Serbs predominate in Dalmatia, and there are also many in Bosnia and some in Herzegovina, so that a religious difficulty intervenes here. Farther to the north-west the Slavs of Slavonia and Croatia are the same people, but their religion, chiefly Roman Catholic, and a certain consciousness of superior culture, has hitherto separated them from the Serbs proper.

We have left to the last the question of the population of Macedonia, a matter of great difficulty. In the sandjak of Novibazar the people are partly Orthodox Serbs, partly Moslem Serbs, and in part Albanians. Farther south, in what was once Old Serbia, but is now new Serbia, the percentage of Albanians greatly increases—of this there can be no doubt. The region has been one of constant ethnological change, and while, according to one view, the Albanians have actually pushed the Serbs back, according to another many of the inhabitants are "Albanized Serbs," *i.e.*, Serbs of race who found it an advantage under Turkish rule to become Albanians. There is no doubt that in this region Serbia has difficulties before her in the future.

Still farther south, *i.e.*, beyond Uskub, we come to a region which was recognized by Serbia in her secret treaty with Bulgaria of March, 1912, as falling into a Bulgarian zone, but which is nevertheless now

partly Serbian and partly Greek, Bulgaria receiving in 1913 an insignificant part of what was once Macedonia (see Fig. 11 and Chap. XIII.). Not unnaturally, Serbian authorities now find that "Macedonian Slavs" is a much more appropriate name for these peoples than "Bulgarians," while the Greeks have suggested that "Bulgarian" is not a race-name at all, but merely means "countryman," as contrasted with "town-dweller"! The point, at least, is that from a short distance south of Uskub to the northern shore of the Gulf of Salonika the land is chiefly inhabited by persons who have hitherto been attracted to Bulgarian propaganda, with whom are mingled many Turks, now, as usual in such cases, tending to emigrate, and with not a few Vlachs.

If these statements are compared with what has been said above as to the distribution of Greeks in Thrace, it will become clear that the 1913 division of territory paid but little attention to nationality. In other words, while prior to that settlement Greece and Serbia were inhabited respectively by peoples who, so far as the vast majority was concerned, were of one race and one religion, the new division of territory means that each has in her lands peoples of different race and different religion. Bulgaria had before the war a less uniform population than the other two, but she also has acquired through it new elements, has failed to obtain lands inhabited by peoples hitherto of Bulgarian sympathies. Much migration is certainly

going on, but it is clear that the 1912-13 wars must have left an aftermath of trouble which only the greater war intervening has prevented from becoming apparent.

Before the 1912-13 wars the Serbs of Serbia numbered under 3,000,000. After it the total population of the new Serbia was about 4,500,000, but, as seen, not all those added were Serbs. About 500,000 Serbs live in Montenegro, and of the 2,000,000 persons who live in Bosnia and Herzegovina most are Serbs.

The population of Bulgaria after the 1913 war was about 4,500,000, but the increase due to it was insignificant. It will be noted from these figures that the population of Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria, is now approximately the same, Greece having the smallest population (4,363,000). Owing to the rectification of frontier upon which Roumania insisted, Bulgaria has lost a considerable number of Roumanian subjects; but, on the other hand, she has gained Turks and Greeks, as well as Moslem Bulgars (Pomaks), hardly to be distinguished from Turks. Prior to the war her population was remarkable, as contrasted with that of Serbia, for the considerable number of Turks, as well as of Greeks and Vlachs. The war, while altering the nature of her population, has not rendered it more homogeneous.

From what has been said above it will be clear that the Turks, even in lands which till yesterday

were nominally theirs, nowhere form a solid homogeneous mass. In the towns they are pressed upon by Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, in whose hands rests the commerce of the country. In rural districts the actual cultivators of the land are almost always non-Turks, and even where they are defined as Turks on account of their creed, they are, in fact, generally Moslemized Bulgars or Albanians. The true Osmanli Turks may be divided into two classes—the landowning, military, and administrative class, and a poor and ignorant lower class. The landowners take little interest in agriculture beyond that of demanding heavy tribute from the cultivator, with the result that the land suffers from all the disadvantages of large ownership, without any of its compensating advantages—such as the possibility of long views, of agricultural experiments, and so on. The Turkish landowners merely exploit the peasant, and have but little direct concern with the land.

NOTE.

In addition to the articles and books already mentioned, especially Brailsford's *Macedonia* and Cvijić's map, reference should be made to *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales* for the last four or five years, in which a number of articles on Balkan problems by various authors have appeared, many of them illustrated by sketch-maps. Tucić's *The Slav Nations*, in the *Daily Telegraph War Books*, contains some interesting historical and political matter. Detailed figures of population, so far as these are known, will be found in the annual issues of the *Statesman's Year-Book*.

CHAPTER IX

THE CLIMATES OF THE PENINSULA IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE

Nation-making factors in states — Comparison between the Balkan States and the United Kingdom—Dependence of modes of land utilization upon climate in agricultural states—Types of climate in the peninsula—Range of the Mediterranean climate—The Continental climates of the north and centre—Climatic control of maize and wheat production—The natural vegetation of the peninsula.

From our study of the races of the peninsula in the two preceding chapters, two facts of interest emerge. We have seen in the first place that there are no less than six races within the region, of whom three are apparently the modified descendants of early inhabitants, while the others are immigrants of different ages. Thus the first fact is the multiplicity of racial types. The second is that there is in the independent states, excluding Turkey, a marked tendency towards a real or apparent racial purity. This has two causes—emigration and assimilation.

In the first place, when lands which have been Turkish change hands, Osmanli Turks, and also members of other races who have become Moslems, often emigrate. But though such emigration in

earlier days tended merely to sift out Moslems from Christians, of later years, owing to the increasing bitterness among the Christians, a similar process of segregation seems tending to take place among them, and is said, for example, to be leading to an emigration of Slavs with Bulgarian sympathies from those parts of Macedonia which have become Serbian or Greek. Of more permanent importance, however, as a factor producing homogeneous peoples, is the tendency for representatives of other races to become merged in the general population of the states whose lands they occupy, so that Albanians in Greece become Greek; Vlachs become Greek or Serbian, according to the state in which they find themselves; the not inconsiderable Roumanian population of the north-east of Serbia is content to become "Serbian," and so forth. The phenomenon is of the greatest importance for the future prosperity of the individual states, for it is clear that no nation can persist in the modern world unless it has this power of absorbing alien elements. Before means of communication reached their present development, a nation could, like the Japan of earlier days, shut itself off from the world. Now this is impossible, and since the independent Balkan States have not, broadly speaking, well-marked natural frontiers, their persistence must depend upon their assimilating power. Turkey has decayed because she has not only failed to assimilate other races, but

has actually stimulated national feeling among those which she has hitherto included in her empire.

We have suggested in the last chapter the considerable part that the tradition of past glories, especially as enshrined in literature and organized in the Church, has played in the development of the idea of nationality among the Greeks. The same thing has happened in the case of the Serbs, and also, though less markedly, in the case of the Bulgars. The Serbs have been greatly assisted, not only by their national history of a glorious past, and by their folk-songs and legends, but also by the degree in which they have shared in the Slav tradition generally, and by the existence of the great Slav nation of Russia. But it seems clear that in the case of no one of the three considerable states will such nation-making factors suffice alone. To survive, a nation must have its own social polity based upon a particular mode of life, depending ultimately upon the characteristics—climatic, physiographic, economic, and so forth—of the particular tract of land which it inhabits.

A brief survey of the conditions which prevail in Great Britain may perhaps serve to make this point clear. The three countries of Scotland, England, and Wales were originally inhabited by nations separated from one another not only physically by upland belts, but also by marked differences of social polity. Scotland, a poor country with a climate generally unsuited for the

cultivation of wheat, the most valuable cereal, and less suited than England for the more productive branches of the pastoral industry, had originally many contrasts with the latter country, which produced wheat in abundance, fine wool, and was generally agriculturally rich. Wales, with certain climatic and topographic resemblances to Scotland, but without that country's important fisheries and tracts of fertile land, was again different from both. The fact that the three have combined to form what, despite ebullitions of local patriotism, is one single nation, is due chiefly to the fact that all three have become predominantly industrial, that all contain coal. Their proximity is also, of course, a very important factor in the modern world.

The merchants of Glasgow, Dundee, Manchester, Cardiff and the other great cities, recognize a community of interest which makes common action possible; the miners of South Wales and those of Northumberland, the railwaymen of the island at large, and so forth up and down the industrial social scale, are far more closely bound together by their economic relations than they are separated by their original racial differences. In the same way, if it seem that the new nation has to some extent failed to assimilate the agricultural, as contrasted with the industrial, population of Ireland, the reason, for the geographer, is to be sought in the fact that this rural people has not felt the

welding influence of the community of economic interest. Their interests as farmers and cattle-breeders are indeed in many ways opposed to those of the industrial majority.

Now, though the Greek by instinct is largely, as we have seen, merchant and trader, yet the hitherto undeveloped state of his country makes the cultivation of the land there the most important industry, as it is in the peninsula generally. If, then, there are any real nation-making factors in the peninsula, it must be because different types of land utilization prevail in its different parts, and such differences of type, to be permanent, must in turn rest upon climatic difference. We shall hope to show that there are real differences of climate, and thus of productions, at least between the northern continental and the southern truly peninsular parts of the peninsula, a difference which has been of much importance in the differentiation of the nations. Greece has been successful in absorbing a considerable Slav element because the typical Slav mode of life is unsuited to Greece. The Greek tends, as we have seen, to follow the coast where the Mediterranean mode of life is possible, and can extend a certain distance inland into the " continental " area, especially where his own plants can thrive. But there comes a time when, as Greek, he cannot compete with the Slav cultivator, and he must either become Slavicized or return to the land which is climatically and agriculturally his.

If we take an analogy from animal life, we may point to such a case as that of the brown bear of the northern forest belt and the polar bear of the Arctic wastes. No actual physical barrier prevents the brown bear of the taiga or forest region of Siberia from travelling north across the tundra to the icy margin of the polar sea, and similarly no physical barrier prevents the polar bear from travelling south, but in each case the animals are adapted to a particular mode of life, and the distribution of the physical basis of that mode of life determines their distribution. We must not of course press the analogy too far, for man is especially remarkable for his extraordinary adaptability, but it has none the less a certain value.

If this be so, then obviously we must study next, first the conditions of climate and the associated natural vegetation, and then the modes of land utilization in the different parts of the peninsula as influenced by these.

Before proceeding, however, to the question of climate, let us compare the four independent states of the peninsula (we may omit Albania), as they stood at the time of the 1913 settlement, with England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The diagram (Fig. 9) shows the general contrast as regards both area and population. The total area of the British Isles, in round numbers, is 121,000 square miles, that of the four Balkan states 125,000 square miles. The contrast of population is strik-

ing, a total of 45,000,000 for the British Isles, as contrasted with one of 14,000,000 for the four Balkan States in 1913. The contrast is of course in

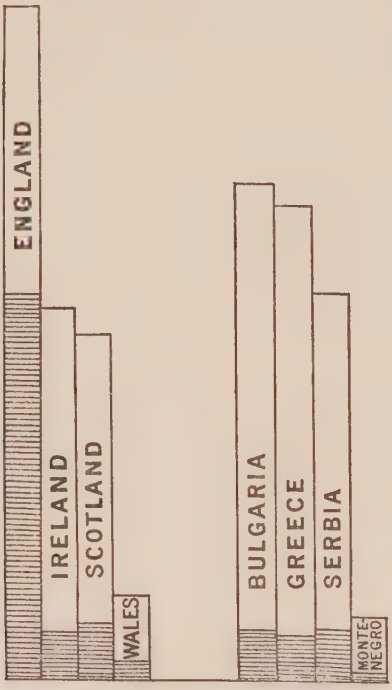

FIG. 9.—COMPARISON OF THE AREA AND POPULATION OF THE COUNTRIES OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH THOSE OF THE INDEPENDENT BALKAN STATES IN 1913.

The long columns show comparative areas, the shaded columns within population.

part that between thinly peopled agricultural states and densely peopled industrial ones; but, on the other hand, we have to remember that both Serbia

and Bulgaria have soils and climates much better fitted for agriculture than those of Scotland or Ireland. Indeed, the figures show that the new Serbia, a considerable part of whose lands have been ruined by centuries of oppression, and whose agriculture even in the older part is still somewhat undeveloped, has, with an area comparable to that of Ireland, a slightly greater population, here entirely agricultural, while that of Ireland is partly industrial. There can be no doubt that with peace, improved outlets for her surplus products, and better methods of agriculture, the lands of Serbia would support a far denser population.

The diagram indicates the general relation of area between the separate countries of the British Isles and the Balkan States. A word or two about comparison of distances may help to prevent the following account of climate from being too abstract.

The distance between the extreme north of Serbia and the south of Greece is comparable to that between Caithness and Cornwall, about nine degrees of latitude in both cases. But, owing to the fact that Ireland forms a separate mass of land, the distance of the interior of the peninsula from the sea is greater than in the case either of Ireland or of England. This helps to make the Balkan climates more extreme. Taking a few actual figures, we may note that the distance between Belgrade and Salonika, in a straight line,

is about the same as that between Edinburgh and London. The distance between Belgrade and Athens is somewhat greater than that between Inverness and London (approximately in the relation of 500 to 450 miles). Again, while the distance between Antivari and Burgas—*i.e.*, right across the peninsula—is about 445 miles, that between Aberystwyth and Yarmouth—that is, across England—is only 245 miles. Further, as we shall see, the climatic contrasts between the different parts of the peninsula are very much greater than those to be found within the British Isles.

The first point to realize is that although Greece (apart from Crete) reaches as far south as 36° North Latitude—that is, as far as the extreme south of Spain and farther south than Sicily, and though the most northern point of Serbia only reaches 45°—that is, the latitude of Turin and Bordeaux—yet a relatively small part of the peninsula falls into the zone of Mediterranean climate. The orange, which grows (if not very well !) on the Riviera coast of France, is limited in the peninsula to parts of Greece proper and parts of the west coast outside Greek lands. The olive, abundant on the shores of Lake Como and in Provence, is only found in the Balkan region on the Adriatic coast, in Greece, and round the shores of the Ægean. Those western coastal mountains which have cut off the interior of the peninsula from " European " culture, cut it off

also from the influences of the Midland Sea, and thus the centre and the east of the "continental" part of the penisula is Mid-European in climate, showing a tendency to pass into the extreme, dry, East European zone as we travel eastwards.

On the other hand, if the winter cold, the frequent frost and snow of that season, make the growth of the delicate Mediterranean trees impossible over much of the area, we have certain compensating advantages. The Mediterranean region generally is largely denuded of its always scanty forest, and this is true also of the Adriatic shore-line of the Balkan Peninsula and of Greece generally. But inland, in the mid-European climatic zone, we have extensive forests of oak and beech on the low ground, with some conifers on the higher. If the Adriatic coast, like many regions in the Western Mediterranean, has but scanty summer vegetation on its sun-baked, drought-stricken limestone hills, farther east the melting of the winter snow, the copious summer rains, give abundant pasture for cattle, sheep, and goats. If in Serbia the plum (prune) replaces the figs, pomegranates, almonds, oranges, etc., of the south, we have to remember that the summer rain which swells its fruit makes the growth of wheat and maize possible, while the severe winter cold checks the multiplication of plant and animal pests.

Briefly, then, the Adriatic coast-line outside of

Greece (but especially its southern portion), Greece, and the northern shores of the Ægean, now partly Greek, have the typical Mediterranean climate, best marked to the south. In this climate the winters are mild, the summers not hot considering the latitude. Rain is scanty or totally absent in summer, while there is a considerable amount in the cooler period of the year, sometimes in winter proper, sometimes in autumn and spring. Thus annual plants will not grow during the hot season unless water is artificially supplied, and the peasant's work at this season is mostly given to the deep-rooted, fruit-bearing trees, such as orange, olive, vine. In the southern part of the area the summer is absolutely rainless, making, for instance, Athens intolerably dry and dusty in summer. The northern limit of the rainless summer runs in Greece from the Gulf of Volo to that of Arta. Further north there is always some rain in the hot season, and on the northern part of the Adriatic coast, where the total rainfall is very high, there are drenching autumn rains, in addition to a certain amount throughout the summer.

Outside of the limits of the zone of Mediterranean climate—and on the Adriatic coast this zone is excessively narrow—we come to a region where the winters are cold, often very cold, with much snow and frost, where the summers are relatively hot, and where there is rain at all seasons. In Serbia and much of Bulgaria, though rain may be

expected at all seasons of the year, it is especially heavy in summer, and diminishes towards autumn. This is the typical maize climate, for that tall plant, with its fleshy stem and numerous leaves, requires much water while it is growing, but must, of course, have a dry period for harvesting. The result is that maize is the characteristic bread plant of the peasant, alike in Serbia and Bulgaria. As we pass eastwards in Bulgaria the summer rain tends to diminish in total amount, and to be more and more restricted to the early part of the warm season. This climate is better suited for wheat than for the water-demanding maize, and in Bulgaria generally, as contrasted with Serbia, the production of wheat is greater than that of maize. The reason is partly, though, no doubt, not wholly, climatic; economic causes must also exert some influence, wheat being more valuable than maize, and agriculture more advanced in Bulgaria than in Serbia. In addition to this contrast as regards rainfall between Serbia and Bulgaria, it is noticeable that in the north of the latter country the winters are colder but shorter than in Serbia—*i.e.*, we are approaching the typical wheat climate of South Russia.

In Southern Bulgaria, in the region which used to be called Eastern Roumelia, the climate is somewhat less extreme than farther north, forming what is called a modified Mediterranean type. This is due to the presence of the west-to-east chain of

the Balkans, which shelters the lands beyond from the cruel north winds of winter. The appearance of the rose gardens of Kazanlik in the lee of the mountains is thus a phenomenon entirely comparable to the appearance of lemon-tree and olive on the shores of Lake Garda, trees which are entirely unsuited to the plain of Lombardy farther south. Further, the Inter-Balkan valley gets heavy rain, which helps to account for its great fertility, but farther south the total rainfall diminishes, and both the middle and lower Maritza basin suffer from lack of sufficient rain. This is especially true of the region to the east of Adrianople (Thracian steppe), and partly accounts for the small population here. Geographically the small rainfall in this region is of interest because it helps to cut off Constantinople and its vicinity from the peninsula proper. The famous Enos-Midia line, which Bulgaria hoped to obtain for her frontier towards Turkey in the 1912-13 settlement (see Chapter XIII.), does to some extent correspond to a region of scanty population such as forms a useful boundary.

As words like "mild," "cold," "hot," etc., convey very different ideas according to the previous knowledge of the reader, it may be well to illustrate the above general account by a few details.

Let us take first winter temperatures. January is normally the coldest month, so that the mean January temperature of any place gives a general

idea of the cold of winter. Now, all the northern parts, alike of Serbia and of Bulgaria, have a mean January temperature of below freezing-point, the actual temperature falling as one advances towards the north-east—*i.e.*, to Bulgaria north of the Balkans. The reason is, of course, the absence of any mountain barrier against the icy winds which blow from the snow-covered plains of Russia. The temperature naturally also falls with elevation, so that Sofia, placed at a height of 1,800 feet, but in a latitude considerably south of Cannes, has a mean temperature in January 3° below freezing-point, and has often periods of extremely low temperature. Ragusa, in almost the same latitude, but enjoying the advantage of the proximity of the Adriatic and of the winter pressure conditions which prevail there, has a mean January temperature of nearly 48°, while at Corfu the figure is nearly 50°.

Even these figures, however, perhaps fail to give the full measure of the contrast between the actual winter temperatures in the east and those which one would be disposed to expect on account of the latitude. Perhaps the matter may be made clearer by pointing out that only on the Adriatic coast south of Spalato and in Eastern Greece south of the plain of Thessaly, is the winter as mild as it is in the south-west of Ireland and England, while the January of Salonika, in about the latitude of Naples, is as cold as that of Edinburgh.

Further, in all the northern region the winter snowfall is considerable. In Serbia generally frost may be expected on more than 100 days per annum. At Sofia a figure so high as 43 has been given as the average number of days in the year on which snow may be expected to fall. Even on the lower ground to the north snow may be expected to lie for a considerable time, and while no mountain in the peninsula rises above the snow-line, Durmitor in Montenegro (about 8,550 feet) is comparable to our own Ben Nevis in that patches of snow remain in sheltered places throughout the year. The snow here is of some importance in giving a summer water-supply in what is otherwise a waterless limestone region. Further, the Rila Dagh, the highest complex of the Rhodope (highest peaks rising to well over 9,000 feet) only loses its snow for about one month of the year, and the higher summits of the Balkans keep some of their snow till July.

In marked contrast to the winter conditions is the hot summer, with its copious rainfall in the north and centre, its drought in the south and south-west. In spite of its elevation, Sofia has a mean July temperature of 73°, a mean which it is perhaps needless to say is nowhere reached in the British Isles. Much of Greece, including the plain of Thessaly, which is so cold in winter, has a mean July temperature of well over 80°, and Macedonia, also very cold in winter, has a summer temperature only a degree or two lower. Indeed, only a com-

paratively small area to the north has a July mean below 75°.

We are so accustomed to dwell upon the advantages of our own mild, moist, and equable climate that it may not be amiss to repeat that, for agricultural purposes, and especially for the cultivation of cereals, these fierce alternations of winter and summer, with snow to moisten the land at the beginning of the growing season, and heavy summer rain to encourage the development of leaf and temperate fruit, is most admirably adapted. Only the shortness of the growing season is a disadvantage towards the north. It can thus be realized that Macedonia, with a longer growing season, with a generally adequate rainfall, which can be supplemented if need be by irrigation, is a promised land to Serb and Bulgar alike. One can understand also why the Turk has clung to it so desperately; for the labour of its peasants has fed him, its productive basins, warmed by the summer sun, moistened by the summer rain, have left to those cultivators a bare margin of subsistence, even after the rapacity of Turkish landowner and Turkish tax-gatherer has been satisfied. If despite the ignorance, the poverty, the depression of the peasant, despite frequent massacres and almost constant unrest, these lands have done so much, what might they not yield under more favourable conditions?

The plant-life of the peninsula has been inves-

tigated in much detail, but for our purpose it may be treated very briefly. The special feature of the north and centre, and indeed generally of all parts except the narrow strip along the west coast which has the Mediterranean climate, Greece, and the regions of somewhat low rainfall in the east, is that they were originally rich in forest of the Central European type. Much of this has been cleared. Under Turkish rule the woodlands were treated with the same contemptuous disregard as the other resources of the region, and the widespread peasant proprietorship in Serbia and Bulgaria has rendered systematic forestry a matter of great difficulty. Bulgaria is making deliberate efforts to improve her forestry industry, to preserve the remaining forests, and to insure planting. Serbia is still somewhat behind.

In both cases the existing forests cover some 30 per cent. of the total area of the country, and in both deciduous trees, especially oak and beech, but also ash, elm, lime, willow, poplar, and so forth, are the chief trees. Coniferous woods are less important. Here, as elsewhere, the difficulties of reconciling the interests of forestry and of the pastoral industry are considerable.

But while Serbia's territories, both the older parts and those which she acquired in 1913, fall generally into the zone of Mid-European forest, there is more variety in the plant cover of Bulgaria, as there is also in her climate. The Rhodope

upland and the Balkans, as well as the long northern slope of these, have, with local variations, the same general types of plant associations as Serbia. But the diminished rainfall south of the Balkans, and the way in which the plains of East Roumelia and Thrace are ringed by upland, give these a type of vegetation described as "modified Mediterranean." While forests occur in parts of these areas, in certain localities the summer drought is too severe for trees to flourish, and land with steppe characters appears, especially in Thrace (*cf.* p. 156). In these steppes even shrubs are rare. In spring the land is gay with springing grasses and with many bulbous plants, but in the height of summer most of these dry up and disappear, and thorny composites, such as thistles, as well as many prickly umbelliferous plants, give the landscape a dreary and desolate aspect. With the autumn rains the grass grows again, and another series of bulbous plants, such as the autumn colchicum, a true crocus, an autumn scilla, and so forth, bring back a pale shadow of the spring splendour.

Again, in the part of the Dobrudja which till 1913 was Bulgarian, the summer drought, combined with the singularly porous nature of the soil, produces a somewhat similar steppe type of landscape. Thus, as compared with Serbia, Bulgaria has a greater variety of natural plant formations, and we have the presumption that she will be able

to produce a greater variety of crops. To put the matter in another way, while the climate and natural vegetation of Serbia are of a more or less uniform Central European type, Bulgaria, alike in climate and in natural vegetation, shows a combination of Mid-European and Mediterranean types, and, in the extreme east, even of the East European one. Thus, from the point of view of climate and products, as from that of race, she is less homogeneous than Serbia.

In Greece—that is, in the region of Mediterranean climate—where the forest cover has not been completely destroyed, the characteristic evergreen, small-leaved trees occur. High forest is, however, rare, and that scrub thicket which is called *maquis* is frequent. Where elevation increases the rainfall, as happens frequently in mountainous Greece, deciduous trees appear on the sides of the hills, and the noble chestnut becomes important.

NOTE

Details in regard to the climates of the peninsula will be found in Hann's *Klimatologie*, while the Mediterranean climate is fully treated in Philippson's *Das Mittelmeergebiet*. Two volumes of Engler und Drude's series called *Die Vegetation der Erde*, are devoted to parts of the Balkan lands, these being *Die Vegetationsverhältnisse der illyrischen Länder*, by Beck von Mannagetta, and *Die Vegetationsverhältnisse der Balkanländer*, by Adamović.

CHAPTER X

MODES OF LAND UTILIZATION

1. The Unfree Peasant in Thessaly.

Thessaly as a transitional area—Physical features and climate—The hill region and the migratory shepherd—The gardener-peasant on the mountain-slopes—The ploughing peasant in the plains—Land-ownership in the plains—The half-shares system—Peasant proprietors—Condition of agriculture—The conditions in Thessaly and the problems of the peninsula generally.

We shall begin our survey of the modes of land utilization in the peninsula with a consideration in some detail of the province of Thessaly, which has the great interest of being a transitional area. Thus, in the structure of its surface, in the prevailing land forms, in the climate, in the natural vegetation, it is intermediate in character between Greece proper and Macedonia. Historically it was, till the territorial changes of 1913, the part of Greece most recently emancipated from Turkish domination. Though the Turks quitted the province in 1881, they re-entered it during the 1897 Greco-Turkish War, and during the intervening period many Turkish landowners remained in Greek Thessaly. Only after the peace negotiations had given the province back to Greece did the Turkish

population begin to follow their flag in the usual fashion, and thus though the population is now almost entirely Greek, this is a recent phenomenon.

Further, the Greeks, in 1881, said that the Turks cursed this fertile land as they quitted it, which is only another way of saying that the long Turkish occupation left a legacy of difficult problems which the present owners have not yet been successful in solving. Thus a study of the province throws a considerable amount of light on the conditions which exist in Macedonia and elsewhere, and will help us to appreciate the wider problems presented by the peninsula generally.

The Greek province of Thessaly covers a much smaller area than the country to which the ancients gave that name, for much of the latter remained Turkish till 1913. Greek Thessaly is a region consisting of a combination of wide, nearly level basins, encircled by mountains, and of hilly tracts (Fig. 10). To the west it is bounded by the slopes of the Pindus range, to the east by the Ægean. North we have the Khassia Mountains, south the Othrys. Now, the Pindus range is a part of the great western system of folded mountains, the mountains which, deeply interpenetrated by the sea, form the greater part of Greece proper. But in Thessaly we find the wide, swampy basins of which we have spoken so much in the case of Macedonia—though those in Thessaly are larger than most of the Macedonian ones—separated, like

FIG. 10.—THE PLAINS OF THESSALY.

The plains are shown by interrupted horizontal shading, heights over 1,625 feet (500 m.) are shaded obliquely, and hill regions of lower elevation are left blank. Scale about 27 miles to an inch.

those of Macedonia, from one another by mountain or upland. In other words, that intermediate belt of which we spoke on p. 13 is here continued into Greece, giving broad, level, *inland* plains capable of being ploughed, such as are otherwise rare in Greece, where the plains are mostly near the coast.

The coast-line of Thessaly has the characteristic Greek feature of dissection by the sea. Thus, the long Magnesian peninsula extends in a south-easterly direction, and towards its lower end bounds the Gulf of Volo. The peninsula itself has a conspicuous mountain backbone, of which the most striking features are the famous peaks of Pelion (5,300 feet), and Ossa (6,405 feet) to the north of the peninsula proper. South of Pelion the peninsula narrows greatly, and turns to the south-west, so that its extremity is hook-shaped. Within the hook lies the almost circular gulf, which is nearly land-locked. Further, while the encircling land shows in several places a coastal plain, most conspicuous in the case of the Almyros plain on the western shore of the gulf, yet behind this plain, where it exists, the ground rises steeply to hills or mountains, and passes have to be crossed to the interior plains of Thessaly. The lowest pass is that which, at a height of about 445 feet, leads to the wide basin and the town of Larissa. It is worth giving a little attention to these points of detail, for, save that the basin of Volo has been flooded by the sea, this condition of mountain-girt,

isolated, fertile basin is that which occurs again and again in Macedonia. Historically, however, the topographical accident which has here permitted the entrance of the sea has had great influence.

The history of Greece generally has not been the history of Macedonia, because the Greek peasant could escape by water, an element over which the prudent Turk refrained from following him. Further, while the Macedonian peasant, when in time of stress he lifted his eyes unto the hills, knew that those hills could at best only feed his flocks for a period of the year, and had little else to offer him, the Greek found on the western slopes of the Magnesian Hills a climate where he could grow his characteristic plants, and he found there also a considerable amount of safety from the Turk, for his vineyard and olive-grove were scarcely worth the robbing. Paradoxical as the statement may seem, therefore, to the Greek the flooded basin of Volo remains to this day a more valuable possession than the fertile basin of Larissa, or the higher one of Karditsa. When economic pressure drives him from the well-cultivated hillsides which surround the Gulf, he tends, oddly enough, to go across the sea, and this although the arable lands of the inner plains of Thessaly are crying for labour. In other words, as the Vlach or the Montenegrin or the Albanian tends to evade the Turk by becoming a shepherd on the mountains,

so the Greek, in his warmer climate, evades him by becoming a gardener on the lower but still steep slopes of the hills. In the peninsula generally only the Slav and the Slavicized Bulgar can, it would seem, keep through centuries of Turkish oppression an unabated passion for the arable land of the inland basins, regions in which there is no hope of evading the tax-gatherer and the *bey*, no eye to pity and no hand to save.

We have spoken of the two inner plains of Thessaly—that of Larissa and that of Karditsa. The map shows their relations, and shows also that both are drained by the factors of the River Peneos (Xerias), which cuts through the belt of upland separating the two plains, and then, instead of continuing south-eastwards as it " ought " to do, and passing Lake Karla on its way to the Gulf of Volo, turns north and then north-east to enter the Ægean through the far-famed Vale of Tempe. The lower basin, that of Larissa, stands some 300 feet above sea-level, and covers an area of some 343 square miles. The upper basin is larger, but slopes upwards to the west, so that parts of it lie at a considerable elevation. Near the towns of Trikkala and Karditsa the height is under 450 feet, but if all land below 1,300 feet is included, the plain may be said to have an extent of about 630 square miles.

As regards climate, we have already stated that in Thessaly this is relatively extreme. Another

important fact is the considerable climatic variation when the wide basins are compared with the slopes near the coast. The basins of Larissa and Karditsa are practically treeless; in winter they are excessively cold, snow occasionally lying on the ground for weeks. In summer they are rapidly heated up, and since, as already seen, Thessaly lies near the limit of the rainless summer (p. 154), there is well-marked summer drought. Further, the plains, especially the western one, lie in the lee of the Pindus range, and in spring are exposed to a devastating wind which descends from the mountains with a foehn effect, licks up the winter moisture, and is associated with a sudden change from the cold of winter to the blazing heat of summer. This wind is often very injurious to growing crops, and the risks of the season are increased by the fact that the accompanying rise of temperature hatches out locusts, which are often a plague. The frequent result may be gathered from the brief official statement that in 1910, while about 48,000 bushels of broad beans were sown in Thessaly, the crop was only about 21,000 bushels—that is, less than half the seed!

In marked contrast to these conditions are those which prevail round the Gulf of Volo, where the climate is modified by the proximity of the sea, the slope of the ground, and the protection which the mountains give from the cold north and east winds of winter. These effects are very marked

on the western slopes of the Magnesia Peninsula, where a mild Mediterranean climate reigns, and the olive and the citrus fruits thrive as well as the vine; while as one ascends the slopes still higher, there comes a belt of dense forest in which the noble chestnut figures conspicuously. Even here, however, there are distinct local differences. The north-easten shore of the Gulf of Volo, with its slope to the sun, has a more favourable climate than the plain of Almyros, while the height limit of the chief Mediterranean plants is distinctly lower on the north-eastern slope of the Magnesia Peninsula, which is exposed to the winds of winter, than on the south-western one. On the other hand, from the very fact of this exposure, the north-eastern coast has a better rainfall.

Thus we have a relatively extreme climate in the inner basins, which resemble steppes in their parched appearance during the summer months, and are singularly treeless. The slopes of the Magnesia Peninsula, and, to a somewhat less extent, those round the Gulf of Volo generally, have a milder climate, an often rich growth of trees, and are capable of producing much fruit of Mediterranean type. The third element in Thessaly, the hilly belts round the inner plains, to some extent share in the disadvantages of both the other regions. They cannot be ploughed, and so far resemble the mountain-slopes, but the summer drought makes them unsuitable for the growth of

trees, and at this season of the year vegetation is represented by dry tufts of grass and asphodel, or low bushes. The chief purpose to which the upper belt can be put is that of serving as winter pasturage for sheep and goats, but the lower slopes, especially where springs occur, can be used for vines and tobacco. It will be seen from the above description that, contrary to the usual conditions in temperate lands, the mountain-slopes are on the whole better fitted for human occupation than either the plains or the hill country. The social conditions have increased the advantage of the slopes near the sea, and the total effect is shown in the denser population there than elsewhere in Thessaly. How far the disadvantages of the plains can be overcome by well-directed human effort still remains to be seen. Up till the present, however, Greece has not been able to do very much for lands which nevertheless appear suitable for cereal production of the large scale.

To this general description of the conditions we may add a more detailed study of the various modes of life practised in the region, in their relation to the topography and climate. Many of the following facts are taken from a paper by Mr. Leonidas Chalikiopoulos, but while he limits himself to a study of Thessaly only, we shall apply his results to the peninsula generally.

Dr. Chalikiopoulos recognizes three types of land utilization in Thessaly, each closely related to a

particular land form. The fact that the hill country is green in winter enables it to be utilized by herdsmen, here typically Vlachs, who are compelled to migrate with their flocks to higher ground when the drought of summer approaches. Thus these hill pastures take the place in Thessaly of what in Scotland is known as "wintering," this being land which has to be left at this season at the disposal either of sheep or, in the Highlands, of deer, who are driven by the snow from the higher land. We have thus a partial and seasonal form of land utilization, which is entirely comparable to the use made by the Albanians of the swampy Adriatic coast of their land (p. 111) in winter.

Such a use of land on the large scale is necessarily wasteful, and involves the existence of migratory peoples. It was formerly common in the Mediterranean region, and still exists outside the Balkan Peninsula in, *e.g.*, Provence and North Spain. With it should be contrasted the elaborate and careful use of the pastures in many parts of the Alps. "Transhumance," as French geographers call such movements, always tends to diminish with closer settlement, partly because of the risk of collision between the guardians of the vast migrating flocks (*cf.* p. 126) and the sedentary agricultural peoples through whose lands these have to travel. Such collisions occur as a more or less regular spring phenomenon between the pastoral Albanians and the Serb cultivators in the

extreme north of Macedonia and in Novibazar, for shepherd easily becomes robber.

The second type of land utilization is that practised by the dwellers in the plains, whose fundamental occupation is the ploughing of the deep fertile soil for the growing of grain. Ploughing is only possible with draught animals, and the sedentary cultivator is more helpless than the shepherd with his crook. The ploughing peasant is thus easily enslaved, and without his oxen becomes almost at once a pauper.

Finally, on the mountain-slopes, as we have already seen, olive, vine, orange, and other trees can be grown. The forest above gives firewood, acorns for the pigs, chestnuts for the household, various minor woodland products, while the proximity of the sea gives opportunities for exchange as well as for escape in time of need. Here, then, a certain degree of comfort is possible, whatever the general social and political conditions. This, with its outlook over the sea and its possibilities, is the typically Greek mode of life, practised also, though to a less extent, on the Adriatic coast. The Slav, on the other hand, is the typical ploughing peasant as contrasted with the Greek gardener. As there is no definite Slav element in Thessaly, we have here a racial explanation for the scanty population of the plains, for the Greek does not seem to take kindly to the mode of life necessary here.

Of the Vlach herdsmen we need say but little, for they have been already considered in the preceding chapter. They often come to Thessaly from a considerable distance, usually from lands which till 1913 were Turkish. The pastures either belong to large landowners or to communes, and grazing rights are hired for the season by the migratory herdsmen.

The ploughing peasant demands fuller consideration, for, as we have repeatedly emphasized, his problem is the outstanding one for the greater part of the peninsula. The landowning, cereal-producing peasant in Bulgaria and Serbia is content, and his contentment gives both countries their strength. Turkey in Macedonia till dispossessed in 1913, Austria-Hungary in Bosnia till to-day, have both failed to satisfy their peasants, and that is the really important part of the indictment against both Powers. Greece's success in Thessaly in dealing with agrarian problems has so far been moderate, and the last division of land in Macedonia gave her jurisdiction over fresh areas where the same problems present themselves. The question as to how far she can deal adequately with the ploughing peasant is one which should certainly be taken into account if any new adjustment comes to be made between her and Bulgaria in South Macedonia.

In Serbia the majority of the holdings, which are owned by the peasants who work them, range

from 10 to 30 acres. The estates or *Tsiflikia* of Thessaly average about 750 acres, while in the plain of Almyros there are estates which include about 5,000 acres of fertile arable land, and with pastures and meadows total 10,000 acres. One proprietor frequently owns several estates, which normally include arable land in the plain itself, and pastures on its margins. The landowners are almost always absentees, appearing only at the time of harvest. Originally they were Turks, but since 1897 the Turks, as already stated, have been withdrawing. Their lands have been in part divided up among small proprietors, who have borrowed money at ruinous rates for the purchase. In part, however, the *beys* have been replaced by Greek owners, who have taken little personal interest in the land. Thus in Thessaly, in contrast to the conditions in Serbia, the Government which succeeded the Turks has taken no steps (though measures have been proposed) to divide the land out among the cultivators. In consequence, as in Bosnia, though apparently to a less extent, the Turkish withdrawal has meant a change of master, but no great improvement in the condition of the actual cultivator.

The lands are mostly worked by the peasants on the half-shares system. The peasant takes over such an amount of land as his oxen permit him to plough, is supplied with seed corn by his lord, pays half the expense of harvesting, and, after the

seed has been set aside, is allowed half the yield. Another system is more usual in the Almyros plain, where the cultivator pays all expenses and gets two-thirds of the yield. A peasant without ploughing animals can only hire himself out as a day labourer at a very small wage. During the 1897 war most of the peasants fled, and the necessity for repurchasing draught animals in place of those destroyed burdened many of them with a load of debt.

As one would expect under such a system, the methods of cultivation are slovenly in the extreme. The land is mostly worked on a two-field system, being alternately cropped and left fallow. The fallow lands are grazed by cattle, but otherwise manuring is scarcely practised. Too small a share of the profits from improved methods falls to the cultivator to make it worth while for him to increase his labour, and, with some exceptions, the landowners do not strive to develop their lands. The usual crops are wheat and barley, in the proportion of 3 to 1, while tobacco is planted on the margin of the plains. Cattle are reared also, each estate having usually hill pastures, tobacco land, and cereal land.

Somewhat more favourable are the conditions which reign among the peasant proprietors. These live mostly in villages near the margin of the plain, in localities where springs are abundant, and where the population was always somewhat denser than

on the waterless plain itself. In such localities the population, always more prosperous, was less easily enslaved by the Turk. Where artificial watering is possible, a peasant family can live in comfort on 25 acres, the usual size of a small-holding in the plain. Holdings up to 75 acres are, however, found, while nearer the hills the size may increase to 125 acres. Only rarely is more than a part of the land used every year, but in some cases rotation with continuous cropping is practised. Thus on watered land it is possible to get barley as a spring crop, maize in the summer, followed the next year by a leguminous crop, and then by maize again. But the peasant proprietors devote themselves especially to the cultivation of vine and tobacco on the slopes, with results seen in the increase in the export of tobacco.

What is the economic result of these conditions? The last figures available are those for 1910-11, and they show that for Thessaly generally the wheat yield is between four- and five-fold. In this country it is reckoned that it should be ten- to thirty-fold. It must be remembered, also, that our land is kept continuously cropped, while that in Thessaly usually only yields one crop in two years. Barley in Great Britain yields nine- to fifteen-fold; in Thessaly its yield is not five-fold. More striking, perhaps, is the fact that Thessaly, the granary of Greece, imports a considerable amount of cereals every year, chiefly from Bulgaria. No doubt these

imports, which come into Volo, need not be regarded as only for the use of the province, but it is at least striking that a cereal-producing region should export far less wheat and flour than she imports.

The reasons for these poor results are no doubt multiple. The Greek does not take kindly to the arduous task of corn-growing, especially under the economic conditions which prevail in Thessaly. Further, as there is not in Greece the land-hunger which is so remarkable a social phenomenon in Slav countries, there is less likelihood of the Government interesting itself seriously in a difficult agrarian problem. It is said that agriculture in the region is steadily improving, but the improvement is as yet considerably less marked than in Bulgaria.

There are many points of interest in regard to the third type of land utilization in Thessaly, that of the gardener-peasant, but these are for our purpose less important. This mode of life is essentially Greek, and does not therefore affect to any great extent the problems of the peninsula as a whole. The most interesting general point here is that, apart from the private ownership of the small areas where cultivation is possible, the villages have a considerable amount of communal land, on which the inhabitants may cut wood, make charcoal, and pasture their goats at pleasure.

To obviate misunderstanding, two notes may be

added to the above description. In the first place we must not, of course, overestimate the influence of race in determining modes of life, more especially in a region where the races are so inextricably intermixed as in the Balkan Peninsula. To say that the Greek tends to cultivate vine and olive because he is a Greek, and the Serb wheat and maize because he is a Slav, would be far too extreme a statement. It is obvious that a mode of life practised by a race in a particular set of environmental conditions is not generally so fixed in the psychology of the race that modification is impossible under a new set of conditions. The average Englishman, who from being an agriculturist has turned more and more in the last hundred years to industry and commerce, the emigrating Scot, who in Canada, in Australia, in the Argentine, engages in types of cultivation of which he has had no racial experience, are proofs, if proofs are needed, of racial adaptability, and very many others could be given. But it is equally obvious that in a state such as Serbia or Bulgaria, where certain forms of agriculture are practised by the vast majority, the social polity will necessarily be influenced, both consciously and subconsciously, by the needs of the cultivators, it being granted, of course, that the majority are able to make their wishes felt, as they are in these cases. On the other hand, where, as in Greece, the possibilities of cereal-production are limited, and ploughing on the large scale can be

carried on only in relatively few areas, the chance of the interests of the ploughing peasant receiving full consideration must be less. The question, we must repeat, is not of Thessaly alone; that region is perhaps necessarily Greek. But it is another matter whether Greece was wise in insisting on her new boundary with Bulgaria including so much arable land in South Macedonia, lands in which the characteristic Greek mode of life is not possible, whose present occupants will not be easily reconciled to Greek rule, and which are scarcely likely to attract Greek settlers.

In the second place, while we have emphasized above the disadvantages which result from the prevailing mode of land-ownership in Thessaly, it must not be hastily assumed that the mere division of the land among the peasants would solve the problem. A landowner who does nothing for his land save take half the crop from the cultivator is undesirable—of this there can be no doubt. It is possible, however, as some Greeks believe, that the status of agriculture could be more easily raised in Thessaly by far-seeing large proprietors than by smallholders struggling under a load of debt. The question is, no doubt, as difficult as that other, did English agriculture gain or lose more from the virtual disappearance of the yeoman? But our immediate point here is that as yet the Greek Government has neither raised the status of agriculture notably in Thessaly nor

satisfied the cultivator. Further, though over-production of typical Greek crops, such as the currant, occurs in other regions, this does not lead to immigration into Thessaly, though labour is deficient here, while other localities seem to be too densely peopled. If Greece has hitherto been unsuccessful with the problem on a small scale, is she wise to undertake the administration of lands where the same problem presents itself on a larger scale ?

NOTE.

THERE is a good description of Thessaly in Fisher's *Greichenland* (in Kirchhoff's *Länderkunde der Europa*). Philippson's *Das Mittelmeergebiet* discusses Mediterranean climatic problems very fully. The article by Chalikiopoulos to which reference is made will be found in the *Geographische Zeitschrift,* xi, 1905 ("Wirtschaftsgeographie. Skizze Thessaliens"). Miller's *Greek Life in Town and Country* contains some interesting notes on Thessaly, and the annual *Diplomatic Reports* on Greece should be consulted for statistical details.

CHAPTER XI

MODES OF LAND UTILIZATION (*continued*).

2. FREE AND BONDED PEASANT IN THE WESTERN BELT.

Conditions in Albania and Montenegro—Bosnia and Herzegovina—What the Austrian administration has done—What it has failed to do—The bonded peasant and his Moslem overlord—Taxation and the cost of the administration—The primitive agricultural methods—Agrarian unrest and its causes.

IF we start from the conditions in Thessaly as a kind of mean, we find that elsewhere in the peninsula the agricultural peasant is either much worse off or in varying degrees of betterment. In Macedonia under the Turk his condition was about as bad as it could possibly be. Not only was he virtually a serf in relation to the Turkish landowner, but in addition he was taxed for state purposes up to the limit of possibility, and this on behalf of an administration which took no heed of him or his desires. The widespread corruption and the farming of the taxes added illegal extortions to those sanctioned by law and custom. In such circumstances it is scarcely remarkable that agriculture should be at a very low ebb, and that

life generally should be carried on at a level which corresponds to that in the worst periods of the Dark Ages in other parts of Europe.

So far as poverty is concerned, the North Albanians, at least, were in scarcely better case, and this though they escaped much of what the Macedonian had to suffer. The general insecurity, the absence of roads and tracks, the constant fighting and raiding, were incompatible with any systematic form of land utilization. We use the past tense because Albania has again become an unknown land.

As already stated, many of the Albanians are purely pastoral. Others cultivate the land, maize, as so frequently in the peninsula (but contrast Thessaly), being the commonest plant. It grows well in the fertile plain near Scutari (the Zadrima), but this belt has to supply much of Montenegro, as well as the less productive parts of inner Albania. Chestnuts are stated to form a not unimportant part of the food of the tribes who find it difficult to obtain maize. In general we may say that the poverty is extreme in the interior, so that the Turkish yoke, if it seem to have pressed less heavily than in Macedonia, was none the less a curse. It is perhaps worth note that the phenomenon of temporary emigration of the males, which occurs so frequently in poor regions, is common here. Young Albanians often leave their country during the winter, going to work in Greece or elsewhere as

field labourers, and returning to their mountains in the spring.

Montenegro, so far at least as the greater part of its surface is concerned, is so poor, so rocky, so elevated, and suffers from so cold a winter climate, that no great amount of agriculture is possible. The rearing of sheep and goats is the chief occupation, and before the recent frontier changes there were twice as many of these animals as of human beings in the kingdom. In the interior there are only small fertile areas, where maize, barley, oats, potatoes (somewhat rare in the peninsula), and buckwheat are grown. But to the south-west there is a fertile plain which slopes down to Lake Scutari, and here a much greater variety of plants can be cultivated. Among these are tobacco and the vine, while on the short coast-line the olive flourishes, orange and lemon grow, and a modified type of the Mediterranean mode of life is possible, as it is on the coast of Albania. Thus it is rather interesting to note that among Montenegro's exports, which are not, however, large in amount, appear, with the products of her pastoral industry and of her forests (tanner's sumach, wood, etc.), such Mediterranean produce as olive oil and wine, as well as tobacco. At the same time, like many Mediterranean areas, she imports grain. There are no large estates, and the land is mostly split up into small holdings worked by the owners. The kingdom has made consider-

able progress of recent years, and the people are contented, and probably as prosperous as can be expected in their barren land. Incidentally, it may be noted that the fact that a considerable amount of grain enters the country from the Zadrima plain makes the desire of the Montenegrins to extend their boundaries to Scutari and beyond readily understood.

We come next to a consideration of the conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Austrian occupation, followed in 1908 by the annexation, has led to certain very obvious improvements here, as compared with the Turkish period. Roads have been constructed, railways built, clean well-managed inns established, courteous officials installed, and so forth. The result, from the point of view of a whole-hearted admirer, may be seen in Miller's *Travels and Politics in the Near East* (1898). On the basis of his journeys and observations, this author not only supports the view that the occupied lands formed, at the time of his visits (1894-1898), a model state, but suggests that Macedonia should forthwith be handed over to Austria-Hungary, as the Power which has shown most capacity for dealing with Near Eastern questions. On the other hand, according to a Slav view, "Austria was not in the least interested in the prosperity of the country [Bosnia-Herzegovina], and merely created an intolerable chaos by her political intrigue in a land that had already suffered

beyond endurance. Her evidences of civilization exhibited before Europe were pure humbug, and the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina one of the most flagrant acts of injustice ever perpetrated on a nation." How can we reconcile the two standpoints?

The first point to realize is that, as already seen, the occupants of Bosnia are predominantly Serb, and thus Slav, by race, and the holding of her southern Slav peoples in subjection, and the economic crushing of Serbia, are an integral part of Austria's policy. Both because they are Slavs and because their sympathies are Serbian, the native population there, then, is suspect to the governing power. Further, the fact that three religions are represented among them gives the administration an admirable opportunity of practising the Turkish method of stirring up mutual hatreds among subject peoples, in order to facilitate the task of governing them.

Second, while to the tourist the fact that the Austrian inns are clean may seem a point of great importance, the peasant, who does not frequent inns, and is, moreover, without any Western squeamishness in regard to fleas, is less easily roused to enthusiasm. When he finds that he is taxed for Austrian improvements, which are undertaken in the interests of the tourist or of the Teutonic immigrant, and at the same time has to bear a direct burden on the land as great as under

the Turk, we can hardly wonder that he looks longingly towards his free brother across the border. There is, in point of fact, a considerable amount of evidence to suggest that the peasant cultivator is worse off under the Austrian than under the Turk, more enslaved than under his former master, while at the same time he is maddened by the favours bestowed on incoming peoples, for whose sake he is taxed, deprived of immemorial rights over pastures or forest-land, and into whose hands the more fertile tracts are passing. Of course, the Austrian might reply that the newcomers are cleaner, more civilized, more efficient, better farmers, and so forth, and thus more worthy of the attention of a prudent administration. The immediate point is that the Bosnian does not see the matter in this light, and adds his voice, if in a somewhat low key, to the cry of the Southern Slavs against the dominant party in Austria. Let us try to appreciate his point of view by some consideration of the land question in the region.

The first fact to make clear is that here, as in the peninsula generally, the conquering Turk appropriated the land, which was granted to individual soldiers on a feudal system. In our treatment of Thessaly we have tried to show that in practice the hold of the alien owners was always greater in the case of arable land than in that of pasture, forest, or mountain-slope, for only the ploughing peasant can go on year after year producing, after his

elemental needs are satisfied, a sufficient surplus to be worth appropriation by an overlord. Now, in those parts of the peninsula which had been conquered by the Slavs, the land when the Turks came was chiefly in the hands of large owners, Slav of race. Many of these were naturally unwilling to lose their predominant position, and the result was that, especially in Albania and Bosnia, many turned Moslem in order to keep their lands. Under Turkish rule the cultivators remained in occupation of the land, whether they changed masters or whether it was only the master's creed which was changed, but they were compelled to pay one-third of the yield to the owner, and, in addition, one-tenth in taxation to the Sultan, as well as such extra amounts as could be squeezed out of them by the tax-farmer, whose ingenious devices were manifold.

In Bosnia, under the Turks, the condition of the cultivator was not so bad as in Macedonia, and this for much the same reason as that which made the Albanian a privileged individual. The country was too near " Europe " for any crying scandals to be allowed. But the effect of the system was obvious in the low level at which agriculture remained, and in the scanty yield. It is, however, of much interest to note that in the period immediately prior to the Austrian occupation the peasants, excited by the movement for the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, and stimulated by contact with the free

Serbs and Montenegrins, succeeded in extorting from the Sultan certain reforms which, if not fully carried out in practice, yet had effect enough to cause the cultivators to look back upon the period between 1860 and 1876 as the happiest in their history. From their point of view the change from Turkish rule to Austrian occupation, and, later, from occupation to annexation, was a calamity.

The matter is so important that some details are necessary. The population of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1910 was under 2,000,000 (about 1,900,000), and of these more than 650,000—that is, more than one-third of the total—were peasants (*i.e.*, peasants and their families), cultivating land which was not their property. Of their lords nearly 90 per cent. were Moslems, while the peasants themselves are predominantly Christians, and were further bound to their lords by conditions still semi-servile, for, in addition to handing over a third or half their yield, according to the special arrangement made, they were compelled to give certain personal services and dues, which could be made onerous at the will of the lord. The owners themselves are divided into greater feudal lords or *begs*, and the smaller proprietors or *agas*.

In addition to the bonded peasants, there were in 1910 about 635,000 free peasants, half of whom were Moslems.

The Austrian Government has, of course, taken over the tax which the peasants formerly paid to

the Sultan, and has found means to make its "efficient" tax-collectors as great a curse as the tax-farmers of the Turkish régime. In the first place, the tax has now to be paid in money instead of in kind, and the crop is valued by commissions appointed for this purpose. Very generally, moreover, the third share which has to be delivered to the overlord is estimated on the basis of the government valuation for taxation purposes. The tax commissioners receive 4 per cent. of the sums which they levy, and it is thus to their interest to place the valuation as high as possible. Further, as the lord's share also depends generally upon their valuation, it is his interest also that the valuation should be high. Finally, since the Moslem landowners form a powerful minority, used in the political machine as a counterpoise to balance the weight of the Christian peasants, with their longing for emancipation, it is the interest of the tribunals before whom disputed cases are brought to support Moslem lord as against Christian peasant, it being understood that these tribunals are constituted by the Austrian authority. The result is said to be not infrequently that, after the peasant has sold a part of his crop to pay the government tax, and has supplied his lord, he has so little left that he must either sell his cattle, and so diminish his own producing power, or go out as a day labourer. Under such circumstances one can understand that his admiration of the efficient Austrian

administration is somewhat less than that of the tourist drinking coffee in a well-managed Government hotel.

Again, while the peasant feels severely the burden of the taxes of a modern administration in a country where he still lives under the feudal régime, he complains also that of the money so collected he gets an inadequate share in benefits. In 1911 the sum devoted to the needs of the army and of the police was more than twice that set aside for education, while, even so, the schools are so arranged that they benefit the small minority of German and Magyar immigrants far more than the vast majority of Slav inhabitants. Such grievances weigh, of course, both on the free and unfree Slavs. The peasant has other complaints in addition, resulting especially from the increasing tendency for the large Moslem landowners to quit the land since the annexation. Without going into details, we may say generally that the aim of the Government has been to use this emigration as a lever to further depress the condition of the peasant, and to promote the immigration of Germans or Magyars. The intention, tacit, or in some cases openly expressed, has been to encourage the emigration of the Slav, with a view to the resettlement of the land by the dominant races of Austria-Hungary, and as the old lords leave the country it is made difficult for their former serfs to remain upon the land, while the incoming of Germans or

Magyars is encouraged in every possible way. It is, at the same time, only fair to state that since the end of 1911 Government Redemption loans have been granted with the object of enabling the bonded peasants to enfranchise their holdings, and advantage has been taken of these loans to the extent of liberating a total of 203,000 acres up to March, 1913.

The actual type of cultivation practised in Bosnia-Herzegovina differs in the three areas into which, as we saw in Chapter III., the region can be divided. On the coastal belt, as far inland as the zone of Mediterranean climate extends, and thus both in Dalmatia and Herzegovina, the usual crops, including olive, vine, with many warm temperate fruits, such as figs, pomegranates, oranges, and citrons, and so forth, all thrive, and in Herzegovina, especially in the Narenta valley, tobacco is an important crop. Wheat and maize are also grown.

In the mountain-region cultivation is limited for the most part to the floors of the polyen, and chiefly to the lower of these, owing to the severe climate in those situated at greater heights. Usually the polyen at the higher levels are used for pasture, and all the cultivators have grazing animals in addition to their fields. The chief are sheep and goats, cattle are fewer, but many pigs are reared, largely, as in Serbia, on the beech-mast and acorns of the forest. Domestic animals have,

however, been diminishing notably of recent years, especially as regards sheep and pigs. Maize is the most important cereal here, but wheat, barley, and oats are also grown, as well as some rye and various kinds of millets. Some vines, tobacco (in small amount), hemp, and flax are also cultivated, mostly on a small scale, and the appearance of the potato is interesting.

The flysch slopes towards the Save resemble in character and in products the adjacent parts of Serbia, and the abundance of the characteristic Serbian plum-tree, with the related export of prunes and plum brandy, emphasizes the resemblance, as does the production of grain here. In this connection it is interesting to observe that it is especially in the angle between the Save and the Drina—that is, close to the Serbian boundary—where the natural resemblances are greatest, that the Austrian Government is taking most care to "plant" colonies of Germans, and to foster the interests of these by all possible means.

Throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina generally the methods of agriculture are very primitive. The plough is stated to be closely similar to that of Roman times, and with it the soil is merely scratched. There is no harrow, its function being taken by branches dragged over the ground. Where the poverty is very great the peasants, in default of draught animals, themselves pull the plough. No manuring is practised. One, two, or

even sometimes three crops of maize are taken off a plot, and then the exhausted soil is left to rest for five or ten years, during which period it is allowed to be overgrown with brushwood—a very primitive method, recalling those of Negro Africa. The weeding of the cultivated fields is often carried on only with the hoe, and, a point of some interest, maize is not sown in rows, but is scattered, very often among other plants. Thus its long tresses and heavy cobs may be seen protruding from beds of potatoes, pumpkins, beans, or millet. This throwing in of a few handfuls of Indian corn to complete a plot is not infrequent in lands where hoe culture prevails—*e.g.*, in parts of tropical Africa. Its presence in a region so near to lands producing vast quantities of cereals by modern methods is a fact of considerable interest.

The habit of mingling crops together is, indeed, common in Bosnia, and was once widespread in the peninsula. Thus, wheat is often mixed with rye or barley, barley with rye, and so on. In addition to such intentional mixtures weeds are permitted to accumulate till they may form 10 per cent. of the total crop. The explanation usually offered of the mixed sowing is that the absence of threshing machinery makes it difficult to obtain pure seed. The grain is trodden by horses, winnowed by being tossed in the wind, and no special attempt is made to get rid of weeds, or even to keep the seeds of the different plants separate.

No doubt carelessness plays a considerable part in the mingling, but one wonders whether it may not also be to some extent a device on the part of the peasant to render the valuation of the crop more difficult, and so evade some of the load of taxation.

While considerable parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina are barren, and there are often difficulties with the water-supply, especially in the karst regions, yet the polyen are very fertile, and there can be no doubt that improved methods would greatly increase the yield. The Slav's complaint is that the Austrian Government in the region has done nothing to help him, but much to hinder.

The suggestion that the solution of the problems of Macedonia is that it should be taken over by Austria-Hungary has been so frequently made, either in this simple form, or as part of a larger suggestion that the western side of the peninsula should belong to Austria and the eastern to Russia, that the conditions in Bosnia are worth careful consideration. Matters here have been complicated, more and more of late years, by the intrusion of the general political question of Austria's southern Slavs, and by the menace to Magyar and German dominance in the Dual Monarchy resulting from the increasing prosperity of free Serbia on its borders. But even if this southern Slav question could be settled in a satisfactory fashion, is it certain that any foreign rule is desirable in lands recently emancipated from the Turk? We have

seen that in Thessaly even a native Government has failed to deal boldly with the land question, because, as we have suggested, the question there affects too small a part of the total population to make a far-seeing and courageous solution a vital necessity for the nation at large. The Turkish feudal system always leaves behind a curse, and the necessary readjustments, if progress is to be made, demand tremendous effort on the part of the administration, an effort which should not be hampered by the political exigencies of a large empire if it is to be successful. Hitherto, as we shall show in the following chapter, only the independent states outside the Mediterranean zone have had the moral force to face the question squarely, and to seek a solution which satisfies the cultivators.

Two short quotations from Miller's book, whose author is an enthusiastic admirer of the Austrian authority in Bosnia-Herzegovina, may perhaps be regarded as putting clearly the Austrian point of view, which is very different from that of the Slav of Bosnia : " The Austrian authorities therefore resolved to make the best they could of the existing law without risking one of those agrarian revolutions which redress an old wrong by committing a new one. . . . Possibly, as time goes on and the peasants become better educated, the old Turkish law may be altered; but that will not be just yet."

In these quotations, more especially in the first,

one recognizes the invariable attitude of the alien official; and as regards the second, the Bosnians assert that the administration is taking care to postpone the time when the peasant will be better educated to the Greek Kalends. With all that can be said against Serbian political life, and of the many mistakes that country has made, we have to remember that one of its first acts after it became a modern state was to free the land, and to undertake the education of the peasant after and not before this preliminary step. Both Bulgaria and Serbia are becoming more and more cereal-exporting lands, and, in the modern world, this means that agriculture there is steadily improving. Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the other hand, is seething with agrarian unrest, whose causes we have tried to set forth here, and we have to remember that, as has been already explained, Austria's policy in the region is determined by political causes entirely outside of it. Thus the agrarian difficulties do not only affect the agricultural population, large though this is; the other classes also are maddened by the thought that their country is being held for a purpose in whose fulfilment their national ideals count as nothing.

NOTE.

In addition to the books and papers already mentioned reference should be made to an interesting article by Gaston Gravier, "La Question Agraire en Bosnie-Herzégovine" (*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*, December 1, 1911). The Diplomatic and Consular Reports for Bosnia-Herzegovina should also be consulted.

CHAPTER XII

MODES OF LAND UTILIZATION (*continued*)

3. Modern Agriculture in Serbia and Bulgaria.

General characters of Serbia—The forests—Production of cereals—Respective yields of maize and wheat—Serbia and Ireland, a comparison—The Serbian plum—Other products—Summary of occupations—Bulgaria, resemblances and differences as compared to Serbia.

As has been already suggested, Serbia and Bulgaria, in marked contrast to the other states of the peninsula, are predominantly cereal-producing. They produce grain not only for their own use, but increasingly for export, and this on land which is chiefly, and in Serbia almost exclusively, worked by the proprietors of small holdings. In both countries agriculture, in combination with pastoral industries, form so large a part of the occupations of the people that in giving an account to these two industries we are practically describing the activities of the two countries.

We have already given a general account of Serbia, and the details which have been added since in the course of our survey may help to emphasize the fact that structurally Serbia is more

" normal " than either Macedonia or Bosnia. Internal basins and abnormal river valleys are not unknown, but they play a far less important part here than elsewhere, and, apart from the curious furrow of the Southern Morava and that other whose course is marked by the Lower Ibar (*cf.* p. 79), the country may be said to consist of upland and hill sloping to the plain of the Save-Danube. This statement is, of course, only true of the Serbia prior to 1913, but too short a period has elapsed since the last Balkan war to make it possible to say anything of value in regard to forms of land utilization in the new territories.

Nowhere does the surface of the land rise to any great height, and though the chief plains lie near the northern river boundary, or else along the tributary valleys, yet cultivation is possible over a very wide area, the vine and tobacco growing well on many of the hill-slopes. Originally, like so much of the interior of the peninsula, the land was rich in forests, and in spite of much felling oak and beech still cover extensive tracts, and the area covered by forests, as already stated, is about 30 per cent. of the whole surface.

The forests permit of a considerable exportation of cask-staves, but are not systematically worked. For this there are a considerable number of reasons. In the first place, though coal occurs in Serbia, it is not mined on an extensive scale, and wood forms the natural fuel. Second, the greater

part of the forests (about 43 per cent.) belong to communes and villages, not bodies which usually take the long views necessary for systematic silviculture. Again, the hunger for arable land is leading to constant clearing, a process assisted by the frequent wars which have ravaged the whole peninsula. Generally we may say that scientific forestry is not very likely to flourish in a community which consists predominantly of small proprietors, more especially one which has only recently emerged from a condition resembling that of the Middle Ages in other parts of Europe. Serbia is almost necessarily still in the forest-destroying stage of development, and when we realize that in our own country we are only now emerging into the age of forest-construction, we can realize that time must elapse before scientific forestry can hope to make much progress among the Serbs. The gradual change from communism to individualism which has been going on in Serbia, and which has resulted in great division of the land, has also been unfavourable to the forests, for woods cannot be managed properly if they are divided up into small plots; and when the land of a clan is divided up, there must always be a tendency on the part of the individual proprietors to clear their share of the forest.

The almost excessive division of the land may be realized when it is stated that the vast majority of the holdings are under 25 acres, while a very

large number of owners possess less than 10 acres. This extreme division is in part due to the breaking up of the Zadrugas, or family clans, mentioned above, with the result that the land previously worked by the family is portioned out among the males. It has, however, also a topographic basis in the undulating nature of the country, which makes the existence of wide uniform plains impossible. Thus we find that the largest estates occur especially in the north, where, in the vicinity of the great rivers, the surface is more level. An undulating surface, we may note, favours small peasant proprietors in that it renders a multiplicity of crops desirable, and further makes the extensive use of machinery almost impossible. Many of Serbia's national characters are associated with the nature of her hilly land, where each small proprietor may hope to raise almost all he needs on his little holding, and where specialization on a large scale is difficult.

What are the chief products of the land? In the first place, as already stated, among the cultivated crops cereals predominate, maize standing first and wheat second. Less important are barley and oats, the latter grown in the upland regions, while rye is cultivated in some localities. Although maize predominates, both in the area sown and in the yield, yet in the list of exports wheat occupies, in most years, a more important place than the other grain. This means, of course, that while

maize is raised primarily for home use, only the surplus being exported, wheat is chiefly an export crop, for only in the towns is wheaten bread eaten to any extent. Further, an interesting point emerges in regard to the respective yields of the two. Maize is a cheaper bread grain than wheat, it is poorer in nitrogen, and should produce about twice as much to the acre. Now Serbia has increased her yield of both grains very considerably of recent years, but while that of wheat is now a fair average, that of maize, though increased, is still too low for good agriculture. This means apparently that those cultivators who are producing wheat are employing better methods than those which cultivate maize only. In other words, developed agriculture is necessary before wheat can be supplied to the world's market, but those peasants who produce chiefly for their own needs are probably still practising slovenly farming, which brings down the national average.

Before giving a few figures, we may point out that Serbia, no less than the rest of the peninsula, has that tradition of undeveloped agriculture which is always associated with Turkish rule. She has been an autonomous state (nominally at least) only since 1815, and it was not until 1833 that the feudal system as perpetuated by the Turks was shaken off, and the cultivators became the proprietors. For long agricultural progress was slow, a fact which was commonly ascribed to the in-

capacity and laziness of the Serbs. Most of those "primitive" features which we described in the case of Bosnia were present in freed Serbia, and some of them doubtless survive to this day in outlying parts. Even so late as 1893 Fischer gives a gloomy picture of Serbian agriculture, and suggests that an increase in the size of the estates would be an advantage. We quote the following sentences from his indictment of the peasant, and would point out that the book in which the words occur (*Länderkunde von Europa*) is a standard work of reference, so that Fischer's peasant has passed into geography book and encyclopædia as the type of the lazy, incompetent Serb, if not also of the Slav in general. One should add that, though the volume is dated 1893, the manuscript was completed three full years before, and as the peninsula is not a region where Government reports are up to date, we may presume that the material upon which the description was based dates back at least some years earlier. Thus the description may be regarded as referring to the Serbia of the early eighties.

Fischer says: "At the present time land cultivation stands at a very low level, and is scarcely more than land robbery. Only about one-seventh of the surface is cultivated. All efforts of the administration to improve agriculture by the establishment of Agricultural Colleges and Model Farms, and by the introduction of improved apparatus,

have remained fruitless; averse to all progress, distrustful of the unknown, with very few wants, deprived also of all impulse to acquire possessions by the still existing family and clan communism (Zadrugas), the Serbian peasant, after all these efforts, goes his accustomed way. After them, as before, he gets the gipsy to make the primitive plough, which demands a huge expenditure of time and strength on the part of man and beast, and, nevertheless, does no more than scratch the surface. Afterwards, as before, is the corn threshed by being trodden by horses, or by means of flails, and winnowed by the wind. In consequence, the yield of the fields is small, the crop of little value. The absence of large estates is perhaps rather a disadvantage than otherwise. . . . The use of manure is unknown, the fertile land is either cropped until it is exhausted or else left fallow after every crop, for there is land enough in the country. Further, the not particularly industrious peasant is not spurred to extend cultivation by getting high prices for his produce, for the absence of carriage roads and the high railway tariff raise the cost of transport so much that it scarcely pays to grow more than can be used at home. In addition, Serbia is surrounded by agricultural lands. Further, in this thinly peopled land labour is deficient, and there is not sufficient intelligence to replace the lack by machinery. One has to add that a third of the year is given up to holiday-making !"

Some part of the force of this indictment is perhaps lost since we ceased to be as sure as men were twenty-five years ago that over-production is invariably a good, but even so Serbia has made notable advances since these sentences were written. This country of idle peasants, spending four months of the twelve in singing and dancing and church festivals, sent out from their country in 1911 over four and a half million pounds' worth of produce, almost wholly agricultural. She scratched her soil to such effect as to export nearly two million pounds' worth of cereals, and had nearly 1,000,000 acres laid down to wheat, and nearly 1,500,000 acres to maize. Fischer's one-seventh under cultivation had increased by 1904 by more than double, for then nearly 37 per cent. of the total was under cultivation. Later figures are not available, but there is no doubt that there has been a considerable increase since.

More striking both as regards the progress which has been made, and that which remains still to accomplish, is the evidence derived from yields per acre. In 1900 Serbia's wheat-lands yielded the low average of 2·7 cwt. per acre. By 1911 she had raised this to 7·6 cwt. per acre. This is still low when compared with the English yield (16·6 cwt. per acre), but then the conditions in England are entirely exceptional. Serbia's yield is practically the same as that of the United States, which has certainly all possible advantages as regards

machinery, and it is very much higher than that of the Argentine (5 cwt. per acre). Maize shows less satisfactory conditions. Theoretically its yield should be at least double that of wheat. But in 1900 the maize-fields produced only 4 cwt.; it has since risen to between 9 and 10 cwt., while that of barley remains low.

It is interesting to compare these conditions with those in Bulgaria. Bulgaria has an extraordinarily high wheat yield; in 1911 it was nearly 14 cwt. per acre, which speaks to very good farming. Her barley yield was also very good, about 14 cwt. as compared with about 20 cwt. in England; but the maize-fields produced only a yield about equal to that in Serbia. Again we have to repeat that maize is the food of the actual cultivator, and the figures suggest that the process of spreading modern ideas on farming is not completed in either country; in both there must still be many farmers who are producing maize for their own use by more or less slipshod methods.

Perhaps we may make the present-day conditions in Serbia clearer by comparing them with those which prevail in Ireland.* Serbia's area in 1911 was 0·57 that of Ireland (18,650 square miles as against 32,360 square miles), but her population was denser (as 0·66 is to 1). Now, Ireland is partly

* Note that the area and population of Serbia, as shown in Fig. 9, are those of the Serbia *after* the 1913 settlement. The statements in the text refer to the Serbia *before* this date.

agricultural and pastoral and partly industrial, but Serbia's population is almost wholly engaged on the land. Thus it is abundantly clear that the land is supporting far more people than it does in Ireland. The actual amount of land under cultivation, it may be noted, is only slightly in excess in Ireland, but Serbia had more than twice as much ground under cereals. In Ireland half the total arable land is laid down to hay crops, so that the amount of land producing cereals and green crops (potatoes, swedes, turnips, etc.) is less than that devoted to cereals alone in Serbia. The number of sheep in the two countries was, in 1911, approximately the same, those in Ireland being slightly in excess. In spite of her much smaller area, Serbia had a number of pigs which in proportion to those of Ireland were in the ratio of 0·65 to 1. Her cattle were far fewer, under 1,000,000, as compared with nearly 5,000,000 in Ireland. Further, while, as we all know, Ireland has an important dairy trade, the making of cheese and butter is not highly developed in Serbia, partly because the peasants have not yet acquired the wasteful modern habit of putting down large stretches of arable land to fodder crops. To them, as to most people to whom farming has not become a modern industry, the mission of fertile land seems to be to produce food or other useful products for man, the natural pastures or the woods (in the case of pigs) should produce at least almost enough food for the animals.

Thus, Serbia's pastoral industry yields chiefly live animals and meat, not dairy produce. She rears a comparatively small number of horses, having about one-quarter of the number found in Ireland, but has more than twice as many goats.

Next to cereals and livestock, Serbia's most important product is fruit, especially the plums of the north, which are exported largely dried (prunes), and are also used to make preserves and brandy. The plums are chiefly grown in hilly regions, and are greatly relished by the people in the fresh condition. They are now exported to some extent fresh as well as dried. Other fruit-trees are also cultivated, but none attains the importance of the plum.

The slopes at the sides of the valleys are well adapted for the vine, but phylloxera has caused such ravages that Serbia cannot now supply her own needs, and imports some wine. The two valleys of the Morava and the Timok are specially notable for their vineyards, and it is rather interesting to notice that two towns near their mouths, Negotin near the Danube, a suggested terminus for the Danube-Adriatic railway, and Semendria on the same river, are wine-making towns whose products have more than a local reputation. The fact that the grapes in these cases are conveyed northwards in accordance with the slope of the land is interesting. With the exception of her livestock and some other products, Serbia's exports have hitherto

shown a general tendency to drain in this fashion northwards towards the Hungarian plain, this being specially true of her fruit. It is because Austria-Hungary does not take the produce of her pastoral industry that the question of Serbia's access to the sea is so clamant. Even as regards her cereals, however, Serbia is faced with the difficulty that Hungary, though not Austria, produces an excess of cereals. Had she free access to the sea, therefore, there is no doubt that there would be an increasing tendency for her surplus cereals also to travel south, or south-east or south-west, against the slope of her land. The point is of some importance, for it is sometimes said by Austrian geographers that as the slope of her land is towards the Hungarian plain, Serbia should be a part of the Dual Monarchy. But, as we have tried to show, it is one of the structural peculiarities of the Balkan Peninsula that lines of communication which are abnormal elsewhere are natural and normal here. Serbia is cut off from industrial Europe by the agricultural plains of the centre, which yield generally the same kind of produce that she does; her destiny, therefore, seems to lead her to find a way of access to the south or south-west, rather than to beat herself ineffectively against customs bars to the north.

Of her remaining products we need say little. Considerable efforts have been made by the administration to promote the growth of sugar-beet,

but the area covered by the plant is meantime not large. The sugar industry is, of course, one which requires a considerable amount of capital for its development, and capital is not readily available in this agricultural country. Tobacco is grown for home use, and flax and hemp support small local industries. Silkworm-rearing, an occupation for which a country of small-holders is well fitted (*cf.* Japan), is carried on, but not on a very large scale. Generally we may say that while the country is climatically suitable for a considerable number of plants, the production of cereals, fruit-growing (chiefly plums), and the rearing of stock constitute the main occupations of the people.

Industries are but little developed, and depend almost entirely upon the working up of locally produced raw material. The most interesting is the production of carpets at Pirot, a town near the Bulgarian boundary, and thus in an upland region. The carpets are made of home-grown wool, are woven by the women on hand-looms, and are coloured by local dyes, said to be bright and permanent. Such minor industries as flour-making, brewing, meat-packing, etc., all exist, but there is practically no production on a modern scale, and most manufactured goods are imported.

Serbia, like other parts of the peninsula, is rich in minerals, but the difficulty of finding capital militates against the working of these. Copper,

coal, and some gold are worked, mostly with foreign capital.

To sum up, Serbia is an agricultural and pastoral country, whose people are predominantly, though to a decreasing extent (77 per cent. in 1900, 72 per cent. in 1910) engaged on the land. Owing to the marked subdivision of the land, there is no pauperism, though there is little wealth. All the attributes of a democratic agricultural community appear. Thus the birth-rate is high (nearly twice that of Ireland), early marriages of both sexes are the rule, and a proleteriat, either urban or rural, scarcely exists. There are more men than women, and though it is generally stated that the position of women is low, yet on the other hand the fact that the women carry on many home industries, and do much of the lighter work of the farms, gives them an actual power in exchange for which they may well dispense with those forms which elsewhere mark a more real subjection. The Montenegrin proverbs, " A house is not based on the ground, but upon a woman," " There is no home without a housewife," show that the significance of the ceremonial admissions of inferiority which the housemother makes to the males of the household may easily be overestimated. There is little illegitimacy.

Since her liberation from Turkish rule Serbia has progressed steadily, and could she only obtain permanent peace and that unimpeded outlet for

her products which is the first requisite of economic progress, the prospects for the future seem bright.

There is so much general resemblance between Serbia and Bulgaria in regard to the use which is made of the land that we may dismiss the latter country in relatively few words.

In Bulgaria, as in Serbia, the population is predominantly agricultural, the proportion being about the same in both cases (about 72 per cent.). The density of population is, however, somewhat less in Bulgaria, where it is 129 per square mile as against 150 per square mile in Serbia. We may note for comparison that in Denmark, a purely pastoral country, but one where the dairying industry is carried to a high degree of efficiency, the somewhat barren land supports in comfort a population of 178 per square mile.

Bulgaria freed herself from the Turk more recently than did Serbia, and we have already noticed that she retains a certain Moslem population. With this may be associated the other fact that peasant ownership is not so universal as in Serbia. Only some 68 per cent. of the proprietors cultivate their own land, the remainder hire out their properties. As in Serbia, and to an even greater degree, the land is much divided up. There are no very large estates, and a very considerable number of proprietors own only about one acre of land. On the other hand, the variety of crops is somewhat greater than in Serbia, and some of the

crops, like the roses grown for attar, are the result of operations of the nature of gardening rather than of farming in the strict sense.

We have already spoken of the climate of Bulgaria and of the risk of summer drought. Associated with this we have great fluctuation in the annual value of the harvest, which varies enormously from year to year. This, of course, brings considerable risk of disaster to a purely agricultural people, but the peasants are frugal and thrifty in the extreme.

Certain minor differences from Serbia are observable. As we have already stated, wheat, in most years, predominates over maize. Pigs are much less important than in Serbia, and though a considerable number of cattle are reared, live-stock and meat figure much less prominently in the exports. This is partly because the administration is making great efforts to develop a dairying industry, and there is already a considerable export of cheese. Further, as cultivation spreads and the old pastures are encroached upon, cattle-rearing can be carried on only if forage crops are grown. Here, again, the administration is making great efforts to promote the cultivation of such plants as lucerne. Since Bulgaria contains a considerable amount of mountain-land, as contrasted with the uplands of Serbia, we find the sheep important. There is a considerable export of mutton, chiefly to Turkey. Poultry are also reared, and eggs are exported.

Bulgaria has practically a monopoly of attar of roses, of which a considerable amount is exported. In contrast to Serbia, which grows tobacco for her own use almost exclusively, Bulgaria exports tobacco, as well as a considerable amount of silk. There is a considerable number of minor crops, such as rice, oil-seeds, various kinds of fruit, and so forth.

There are some minor industries, notably the manufacture of woollen cloth, which is exported to some extent. The home supply of wool does not suffice for this, and an extra supply is imported, chiefly from Turkey (*i.e.*, the Turkey before 1913). The country seems to be rich in minerals, including coal, but these are not yet worked to any extent, chiefly on account of the want of capital, always a difficulty in a state which subsists by carrying on agriculture on small holdings. As in the peninsula generally, the uncertain political situation has made it difficult to obtain foreign capital, though a certain number of mineral concessions have been granted.

NOTE.

Servia by the Servians, compiled and edited by Alfred Stead, London, 1909, and *Bulgaria of To-Day*, published by the Bulgarian Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture, London, 1907, contain a number of interesting details in regard to the two countries. Later statistics will be found in the Diplomatic and Consular Reports, and in the annual issues of the *Statesman's Year-Book*.

CHAPTER XIII

TERRITORIAL CHANGES AFTER THE 1912-1913 BALKAN WARS

Roumania and Bulgaria, the new frontier—Roumania's gain and Bulgaria's loss—The Bulgaro-Turkish frontier—Greece and Bulgaria — Serbia's gains — Unsatisfactory nature of the settlement.

We have spoken so much in the foregoing chapters of the frontiers which resulted from the 1912-13 Balkan wars that it may be well for the sake of clearness to sum up here the changes which those wars produced. Essentially, of course, their result was to exclude Turkey from Europe save for Constantinople and a comparatively small area behind it, and to create the short-lived state of Albania; but it was the division of the spoil among the independent states which raised the great difficulties.

The immediate cause of the first war was the Young Turk revolution and its consequences. Among these consequences were the annexation by Austria-Hungary of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the shaking-off by Bulgaria of the last remnant of Turkish supremacy, and the troubles in Albania and Macedonia which arose when the new Turkish administration abandoned the safe maxim of *point*

de zèle which had characterized its predecessors. The first symptom of changed conditions was the formation of a Balkan alliance, a combination which had previously been regarded as impossible. As already seen, a secret treaty was arranged between Bulgaria and Serbia in reference to the distribution of the lands which they hoped to take from the Turk in Macedonia. The territorial basis of the treaty is shown in Fig. 11; its essence was that while Old Serbia and the northern part of Macedonia generally were to be regarded as Serbian in character, Serbia was not to contest Bulgaria's claims to the southern part of Macedonia. A disputed area, however, remained between the two zones, whose destination was to be settled after the war. Greece apparently did not enter into the treaty, and her share of the spoil was left unsettled.

As is well-known, when the war broke out Turkey's army, which had hitherto enjoyed a high reputation, failed to act up to this reputation, and the allied states prospered far beyond their most sanguine expectations. Turkey not only lost Albania, Novibazar, Macedonia, but also a very large part of Thrace, and at the end of the first campaign Bulgaria anticipated that she would be able to draw her new frontier direct from Midia on the Black Sea to Enos* on the Ægean, thus including in her lands the whole of the lower

* Enos lies at the mouth of the Maritza, but on its eastern bank. See the coloured map.

FIG. 11.—MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SECRET TREATY BETWEEN SERBIA AND BULGARIA IN 1912.

The lands north and west of the shaded area, including North Albania, were to go to Serbia; those south and east to Bulgaria; the shaded area was to be the subject of negotiation later.

course of the Maritza with the town of Adrianople, and also that of Lule Burgas on the Ergene. But, and here arose the great difficulty, Serbia hoped to obtain from the war that free access to the Adriatic to which, as we have shown, she considers herself entitled on geographical grounds. Now, the powers of the Triple Alliance were determined that she should not have this, and to prevent the possibility independent Albania was created, Serbia being given the somewhat empty permission to construct a railway through Albanian territory.

We have already explained that this necessarily led to troubles between Serbia and Bulgaria. If the original treaty was carried out, now that Greece was in possession of the North Ægean coast and Serbia was blocked on her way to the Adriatic, it would mean that two protectionist powers would intervene between Serbia and the sea to the south, and this although Bulgaria had gained much territory in Thrace. The quarrel between the powers was fomented, there is little doubt, by German and Austrian agents; the result in any case was that Bulgaria staked her all on a throw of the dice—and lost. Her behaviour during the short summer campaign of 1913 has been the subject of very severe strictures; but we have been so satiated with war horrors since, that that brief campaign seems old history. In any case military matters are not our concern here. The result of her defeat at the hands of her former allies was that Bulgaria

was almost excluded from Macedonia, as we see from the new frontier-line shown on Fig. 11, which gives Serbia not only the disputed area, but a considerable tract to the south and east of it. She lost also the lower part of the Struma valley, her easiest western outlet to the Ægean, and with it the port of Kavala and the town of Seres. Meantime the Turk took advantage of the new campaign to win back Adrianople and a part of the Maritza valley, and so shift the original Enos-Midia line far to the north-west. Finally, unkindest cut of all, Roumania " rectified " her frontier by nipping off a considerable slice of Bulgarian territory to the north-east. Bulgaria, sullen and defeated, was left with an insignificant fraction of what she had hoped to gain, and with a grievance against every one of the surrounding states—not a happy position for a country which had hitherto enjoyed in the Press of the West the reputation of being the most efficient of the Balkan States.

At the date of writing the most important changes which have occurred subsequently have been the departure and subsequent abdication of the ruler of independent Albania, and the occupation by the Greeks in 1914 of a considerable tract of land in Southern Albania, land which was included by the 1913 treaty in the independent state. The portion occupied is the nothern part of Epirus, a region which has thus now become wholly Greek.

In order to appreciate the importance of what Bulgaria lost by her 1913 campaign, we must consider in a little detail her different frontiers, beginning with the Roumanian one in the north-east.

We have already dwelt upon the fact that the Danube, after a west-to-east course which brings it to the town of Silistria, is blocked by the rising ground of the Dobrudja, and turns north, running parallel with the coast for a time before it finally reaches the Black Sea. Up to the town of Silistria the river formed till 1913 the Roumanian-Bulgarian frontier, and this frontier ran from that town in a south-easterly direction to the sea. The old frontier is clearly shown on Fig. 3; Silistria lies at the point where it quits the Danube (see also the coloured map). The result was to include in Bulgaria a tract of land which had much the same general characters as the Dobrudja, and was regarded by the inhabitants as forming part of it. Thus trees in both cases are non-existent, springs are few, running water almost absent, and the chalk rocks are covered by so thin a layer of earth that in summer the region becomes burnt-up and steppelike; it is, indeed, a true steppe in character. The region has a considerable Moslem population, and apart from the town of Silistria itself, with only 12,000 inhabitants, is not, one would suppose, of very great value either to Bulgaria or to Roumania. But here, as so often,

strategic reasons and the diplomatic presumption that a state of war is the natural one between neighbours make an intrinsically unimportant region a burning political question. Roumania's chief port is the town of Constanza, which is connected by rail (Fig. 7) with Bukarest, the capital. This railway crosses the Danube at Chernavoda by a great bridge, the only bridge between Belgrade and this point. In other words, only at this point can the Danube be crossed in Roumania without break of bulk, and only by this bridge has her capital direct communication with the coast.

At the time of the Treaty of Berlin Roumania protested against Silistria being given to Bulgaria on the ground that the proposed frontier line constituted a menace to her lines of communication. To this the reply was made that as the Bulgaria of the Treaty was not a military state, the suggested danger was non-existent. In the 1912 campaign, however, Bulgaria showed very definitely that she was a military state, and this, according to Roumania, rendered a rectification of frontier necessary. She laid stress especially upon the fact that the existing frontier brought Bulgarian territory at one point within under twenty-two miles of her most important railway. Further, by insisting that the new frontier should start from near Turtukai on the Danube instead of from Silistria, and run south-east, Roumania gained

and Bulgaria lost two ports on the Black Sea, those of Kavarna and Baltchik.

But it is the great disadvantage of all frontiers based upon supposed strategic necessity that while one morsel of territory is appropriated to safeguard a present possession, immediately the new frontier is drawn it is perceived that a little more is desirable to protect this, and so the argument can be continued until it is obvious that there is no safety without swallowing up the whole of one's adversary's land. In this particular case a railway runs direct from Bukarest to the town of Giurgevo on the Danube, opposite which, but not connected by a bridge, stands the important Bulgarian town of Rushtchuk. To be really safe against any possible nefarious designs on the part of Bulgaria it would be necessary for Roumania, as her statesmen have pointed out, to appropriate the "quadrilateral," Rushtchuk, Shumla (Choumla on map), Varna, Silistria. Varna is the chief Bulgarian seaport and Rushtchuk her most important river port, and the two the largest towns in Bulgaria after Sofia and Philippopolis. This larger claim Roumania has not pressed in the meantime, but she advanced its desirability, from her point of view, as a reason why Bulgaria should grant the lesser demand. The lesser gain she obtained as the result of Bulgaria's second and disastrous campaign, and the consequence is that the Roumanian frontier now comes perilously close

to Bulgaria's chief port, and this though she has not, as we shall see, acquired a satisfactory Ægean outlet. These facts help us to understand why, in 1914-15, Roumania should have felt hesitation in undertaking great military schemes in the north without some previous arrangement with Bulgaria.

Let us turn next to Bulgaria's new southern frontiers. Two rivers, we have already seen, afford access from her inner plains to the southern sea. The more important of these is the Maritza, on whose banks stands Adrianople. South of Adrianople the Orient Railway, taking advantage of a curious little tributary valley, leaves the Maritza, and by means of this tributary finds its way into the Ergene valley, which it ascends for a considerable distance. The Enos-Midia line cuts the railway practically at the point where it quits the Ergene valley, and would have given to Bulgaria the whole of the Maritza from its source to the sea, the greater part of the course of the Ergene, and also the branch line which connects the Adrianople-Constantinople route to Dedeagatch, the port which lies to the west of the mouth of the Maritza. The frontier which Turkey finally obtained gave to her the whole course of the Ergene and a part of the Lower Maritza valley, with the town of Adrianople. The result was to push a section of Turkish territory over the railway line (Fig. 7), so that to reach her Ægean port Bulgarian goods have to enter and then to leave

Turkish territory—and this with her best Black Sea port threatened by Roumania.

The second important river valley which affords a (relatively) easy passage from Bulgaria's older territories to the Ægean is the Struma, from whose headwaters, as we have seen, there is no great difficulty in reaching Sofia, the capital. The Struma valley opens at its lower end into the fertile basin of Seres, famous for its tobacco-fields, whose best outlet is Kavala, for the Bay of Rendina or Orfani, into which the river opens, is harbourless. But the Greek frontier has been so drawn as to exclude Bulgaria from practically the whole basin of Seres, from the lower Struma valley, the port of Kavala, as well as from both shores of the Bay of Rendina. On the east her sea-front is constricted between Roumanian and Turkish territory; on the south she is similarly, but to an even greater extent, constricted by the frontiers of Turkey and Greece. Thus, if she has no cause to love Roumania, she has less to love Greece.

As her dissatisfaction with the results of the last campaign has had a very considerable effect upon Near Eastern politics during the winter of 1914-15, and since the territorial changes brought about by that last campaign are somewhat complicated, it may be well to elaborate a little her grievances in the south.

In the first place, as we have already explained, her fertile inner basins and plains tend to drain

southwards rather than to the Black Sea, and this whether we take "drain" in its literal sense or in the metaphorical one of meaning the natural trend of her products. But the basins and plains of Bulgaria south of the Balkans are shut off from the Ægean by the Rhodope upland in the limited sense. Two river valleys, one at each end of this lofty upland, afford the only feasible outlets to the sea. Of these the one, the Maritza valley, is easy but somewhat circuitous; the other, the Struma, is direct, but has steep gradients. Now, though Bulgaria has been left in the possession of the western bank of the Lower Maritza, her road south, by rail as well as river, is blocked by the fact that the Turk sits astride the valley both above and below Adrianople. In the case of the Struma Bulgaria owns the upper and middle course, but Greece holds the mouth and lowermost part of the valley, and cuts off Bulgaria's new territories, as well as her old, from their natural outlet here.

This, then, is Bulgaria's first grievance, that while part of her object in entering upon war with Turkey was to obtain outlets to the Ægean, and while she has in point of fact gained a part of the north coast of that sea, her portion has been so arranged as to be of relatively little use to her.

Her second object was to obtain new territory, especially in Macedonia, where dwell many representatives of her race. With territory here she undoubtedly wanted the great outlet of Salonika.

Her share of Macedonia is minimal, and she has lost Salonika, has lost also to Serbia Macedonian lands which she reckoned as her own by right of race and influence, as well as by the secret treaty. Whatever treachery and cruelty she displayed in the second campaign—and there seems no doubt that there was both—Greece and Serbia would have perhaps been wiser to have been more generous in their hour of triumph; a sullen, aggrieved neighbour is always an undesirable one.

At the same time we have to admit that while Serbia's gains in territory and population were nominally great, yet in that she failed to obtain a genuine outlet either to the Adriatic or to the Ægean, and in that her new lands are peopled not wholly, perhaps not even largely, by Serbs, her gains are more apparent than real. Her big, unwieldy block of Macedonian land, as yet cut off from its natural outlets alike to west and to south, will take some digesting.

Greece gained much, and by her subsequent occupation of South Albania has gained more, but generosity to her adversary in the hour of bitter defeat might have enabled her to interfere with advantage to herself in the greater conflict which is now being waged.

This brief account of the more important changes which resulted from the wars of 1912-13 may help to justify the statement already made that the 1913 settlement settled nothing, but left, on the

contrary, a large number of problems urgently requiring solution. We must hope that in the great peacemaking which is to come—we know not when—the difficulties will be more squarely faced.

NOTE.

THE details of the Balkan campaigns, the terms of peace, and, so forth, are now to be found in the usual books of reference. Among articles which appeared at the time special mention may be made of those in *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*; notably, Tsarigradski, "Roumanie et Bulgarie" (February 16. 1913); Thomasson, "La Tragédie Bulgare" (August 1, 1913); the same, "La Paix de Bucarest" (August 16, 1913); Tsarigradski, "La valeur comparée des acquisitions Balkaniques" (October 1, 1913).

EPILOGUE

THE FUTURE AND ITS PROBLEMS

To attempt to forecast the probable or even the desirable lines of settlement in the Balkan region would be futile in itself, and contrary also to the whole spirit in which this book has been written. Peace, when it comes, will be determined—as all on this earth is determined—by the balance of opposing forces, and the strength and nature of these forces is not yet fully apparent. But it may be useful to set forth, as dispassionately as may be, the conclusions suggested by our geographical study of the region—conclusions which ought to influence those in whose hands the conditions of peace lie.

Let us begin by summarizing, in the most general fashion, the facts which have emerged from our survey. We have seen that the peninsula south of the Save-Danube line consists of a northern quadrilateral, with an essentially continental climate, and a southern truly peninsular area, deeply interpenetrated by the sea, which is as characteristically Mediterranean, in climate no less than in products. But, and this is one of the most important features of the whole region, of the three sea-

boards of the northern quadrilateral, the western, and, to a less extent, the southern, is also Mediterranean in its climate and products. The third sea-front, that which faces the Black Sea, shows recent elevation of the coast, and partly because of this elevation, partly because of the river captures brought about by the sinking of the Ægean, the chief streams tend to avoid their "natural" destiny, and turn northwards (Danube) or southwards (Maritza and its great tributaries) to the Ægean. This fact, combined with the relative difficulty of access of the Black Sea from the Mediterranean, reduces the importance of this eastern coast-line. The result is that Bulgaria, despite the fact that she has in Varna and Burgas good Euxine ports, with minor ones in addition, is necessarily drawn towards the southern or Ægean coast. As we have said, this Ægean coast, like the Adriatic one—though somewhat less markedly—because of its climate, its productions, and its external relations, belongs geographically rather to a Mediterranean state like Greece than to cereal-producing Eastern European states like those which occupy the greater part of the northern quadrilateral. Thus these northern states are faced, as their first difficulty, with the problem that their best outlets lie on coasts whose inhabitants have in general a different mode of life from theirs, coasts which thus tend to be included in different social and political complexes.

Their second difficulty, and that to which we have devoted much attention in the foregoing pages, is that their respective territories are singularly devoid of natural centres round which each nation may crystallize, and yet at the same time are open to invasion from several sides, as few other countries are open. The result of this is seen on the one hand in the long domination of the Turk, and on the other in the constant interference of the adjacent Powers in the internal affairs of the peninsula.

One effect of this interference is evident in the fact that up to the present the Adriatic coast-line has, since the Middle Ages, played practically no part in the development of the interior of the northern quadrilateral. Thus Serbia has been economically dependent on Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, previously limited to her Black Sea coast with its obvious disadvantages, did not till yesterday succeed in finding an outlet—and that an inadequate one—upon the Ægean. From the northern part of the Adriatic Serbia has been cut off, not only by the considerable physical barrier of the Dinaric Alps, but by the more complete barrier of customs. Her cattle, for instance, have been denied all exit through Bosnia, even by the imperfect lines of communication which exist up to the present. Were the political barrier broken down, would the physical one still prevent her finding outlets in this direction? Some geographers have answered yes,

but, as we have pointed out, there exists, at a point easy of access from Serbia, what we have called the Albanian Gap. This Gap, encumbered though it be, seems to offer a suitable alternative to the proposal that Serbia should seek a port on the Ægean, where the competition is already keen, and which, moreover, is somewhat remote from her markets. The fact that some of the Powers found it necessary to erect the comic opera state of Albania as a plug in the Gap, suggests that they consider that the physical conditions here do not form a strong enough barrier without the intervention of a political one also.

A point which we have already stressed, and which is worth keeping in mind, is that the north-to-south trending portion of the Adriatic coast, a part of which forms the sea-front of the North Albanian Gap, owing to its swampy nature, is not at present inhabited by any considerable number of people living the typical Mediterranean life. To allow Serbia to extend to the sea here would thus not mean the inclusion in her lands of a group of markedly different economic interests, as would, for example, the absorption of Dalmatia.

In the northern quadrilateral of the peninsula Serbia and Bulgaria are the most important states, and both are fundamentally cereal-producing and cereal-exporting countries, where the majority of the population dwell upon the land and cultivate

ground which they own. Montenegro is a small, chiefly pastoral state, handicapped by elevation, a frequently barren soil, and the severity of the winter climate. Her union with Serbia, now that no block of Turkish territory separates them, is probably but a matter of time. Bosnia-Herzegovina is held by the Austrian chiefly as what the French call a *terrain militaire*, a tract of land whose value is military and whose economic development is purposely retarded. This has been one of the motives at the back of Austria's unwillingness to tackle the agrarian question seriously. Till it is settled, either by the present administration or by a totally new one, there can be no peace nor prosperity.

Albania as a genuine state never existed except on paper, and this particular scrap of paper is hardly likely to survive the present war.

Turning next to the future, the first point to need emphasis is that the difficulties of readjustment especially concern Serbia and Bulgaria. The interests of Greece lie around the Ægean, and in the extremity of the peninsula generally; her intrusion into the northern quadrilateral is to be deprecated, save perhaps to a certain extent along the western coast.

Hitherto one of the great difficulties in arriving at stable conditions in that northern quadrilateral has been that the Powers would neither allow the people to manage their own affairs nor have they

been able to interfere with any particular effectiveness, partly because of the absence of any consensus of opinion among themselves, and the associated want of any settled policy.

That this country's policy has often been swayed by sentiment rather than by interest has not, unfortunately, helped greatly the cause of any Balkan nationality. The separate Balkan peoples are each driven to develop along certain lines by the natural conditions under which they live, and a sentimental, as distinguished from an informed, backing of one people against another is likely to be helpful to none. Till within the last few years Bulgaria enjoyed in this country what the French call a *bonne presse*, while Serbia was regarded as beneath contempt. If we allow our admiration of the latter country's recent heroic stand to lead to an excessive idealization of her, with an associated contempt for the other states, disillusionment for ourselves, and fresh disasters for the peninsula at large, are only too likely to follow. Serbia is a peasant state which has emerged within the last hundred years from a feudal régime; Bulgaria's emancipation is more recent; in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia feudalism still reigns; to expect from any one of such states the qualities which centuries of freedom and constitutionalism have given in the West is to court disaster.

Turning to details, it seems desirable that Serbia's longing for an outlet to the Adriatic

should be gratified, more especially because an outlet on the North Albanian coast would enable her to send her livestock expeditiously to the Italian market. This would facilitate commercial intercourse between the two powers, and would probably pave the way for a political understanding which would help to smooth out the difficulties associated with the question of the ownership of the Adriatic coast-line. Further, since parts of Bosnia are not separated by any natural frontier from Western Serbia, and since the difficulty of developing at least the central part of Bosnia by means of the coast of Dalmatia is considerable, it seems reasonable—in the event of the issue of the war being what we hope it will be—that at least parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be attached to a larger Serbia.

The question of Dalmatia is much more difficult. The people here seem to be predominantly Slav by race, but the conditions render necessary a mode of life which is not that of the typical Slav elsewhere in the peninsula, and Italian influence is strong, apparently out of proportion to the actual Italian element. More than this, the fate of Dalmatia is bound up with that of Slavonia and Croatia. There has been recently a more or less marked tendency in the Press to assume that the Slav provinces of Austria-Hungary should be attached to a Great Serbia after the war, so that there would be a mighty union of Southern Slavs. But such a large

Slav state would have many difficulties to face. Serbia at present, we must repeat, is a nation of land-cultivating peasants, which has not yet displayed great political capacity, though she has shown what almost amounts to military genius. Further, she has before her a difficult task in Macedonia, and if the upshot of the present war is to give her an open road through North Albania, she will find that here also delicate readjustments require to be made. To develop her new territories, to repair the waste of war, she will require foreign capital, which can only be got if the financiers of the world have confidence in her political stability. Even if the issue of the war were to give her opportunity, would she be wise to attempt to assimilate a large population to the north, differing in religion, in degree of social development, in history? It may be noted as an element in the problem that the Austrian province of Dalmatia has a total area of nearly 5,000 square miles, with a population of about 650,000, the Hungarian province of Croatia and Slavonia one of nearly 16,500 square miles, with a population of more than 2,500,000. Serbia's area in 1913 was 34,000 square miles, her population 4,500,000. To add to this, altogether apart from possibilities in North Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina, an area of 21,400 square miles, with a population of approximately 3,270,000, would be a hazardous experiment. Further, to take away Croatia from Hungary

would be to take away Fiume, and thus to shut off the wide fertile plains of that monarchy from the sea. Such an action would, sooner or later, bring disaster to all concerned.

The question is, of course, bound up with the fate of Austria-Hungary as a monarchy, in regard to which meantime no man can prophesy. But it is worth note that though it may be rhetorically effective to call that empire " ramshackle," yet it is an obvious retort that perfection is an attribute of machinery, not of living organisms. All living beings contain organs and structures of different origin and history, some useful, others apparently without function; it is only machines in which every bar and bolt is placed with a set purpose. Just because they are more or less ramshackle have living beings the power of modification and adjustment, while the perfected machine cannot adapt itself to changing conditions. Are we so sure that the Dual Monarchy has not some of the living creature's quality of adaptability? The present war is said to be a Magyar war. Not so long ago the Magyars were oppressed; of recent years they have successfully oppressed other nationalities. But is there no hope that a better way may be found? In any case it seems very doubtful whether Serbia would gain much by being merged into a great Southern Slav nation, and a submergence would inevitably bring fresh difficulties in the south.

As we have seen, Greece has solved a part of the South Albanian question in her own way. It seems almost certain that the Albanian experiment will not be repeated, but some delicate adjustments of territory will have to take place if the reasonable claims of Italy in the region of the Straits of Otranto are to be safeguarded.

If Serbia receives satisfaction in North Albania, and if Greece has fair treatment in South Albania, one would fain hope that both states will consent to such changes in Southern Macedonia as will remove the worst of Bulgaria's grievances. There is not likely to be permanent peace in the peninsula till the present conditions in the Maritza and Struma valleys are modified. If and when the Turk is finally banished from Europe, and Constantinople comes into the keeping of another Power or Powers, then the trend of Bulgaria's trade towards the Ægean must become stronger than ever, and she is not likely to rest till she gains undisputed possession of one or both of these valleys. If conditions make it possible, she should have Kavala as her chief outlet to the south.

We have tried to show that the peninsula as a whole is geographically of extraordinary interest, but that the very complexity of structure which gives it its geographical interest has made its history troubled in the extreme. As the geographical facts must continue to exercise their effect, we cannot hope that the future will be smooth

and untroubled, but there is at least more prospect of finding a solution of the numerous problems if we recognize that they have a root in physical features. If this book helps to throw light upon the dark places, if it encourage any to pursue in further detail the questions which could only be touched upon within the compass of a small volume, then it has not been written in vain.

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